

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. draft | Home Phone Numbers. [partial] (1 page) | 07/07/1999 | P6/b(6) |
| 002. draft | Remarks to the 15th Annual National Academy Foundation Institute for Staff Development. (3 pages) | 07/07/1999 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 19945

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FOLDER TITLE:

New Markets I - Anaheim - NAF [National Academy Foundation] 7/8/99 - Drafts -
Anaheim

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1297

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Draft 07/07/99 3:45pm
Jeff Shesol

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE 15th ANNUAL
NATIONAL ACADEMY FOUNDATION
INSTITUTE FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT
ANAHEIM HILTON AND TOWERS
ANAHEIM, CALIFORNIA
July 8, 1999**

Acknowledgments: Sec. Daley; Rep. Sanchez; Mayor Tom Daley; Warren Christopher; Rev. Jesse Jackson; Sandy Weill; Hazel del Rosario; and all the business leaders, elected officials, and educators who are here today

I want to thank you for inviting me here to your annual conference. It is appropriate, I think, that at the close of my New Markets Tour, I should address a group like this one — a group that's working to prepare our children, and thereby our nation, to seize the opportunities of the 21st Century.

Over the last four days, I have traveled across America, shining a spotlight on opportunity in places not yet blessed by our nation's prosperity. I have been glad to have a number of you along for the ride. Together, we have seen the power of public-private partnership in the Mississippi Delta and the spark of retail investment in East St. Louis. We have seen that a sound infrastructure can bring opportunity even to the remote regions of Indian country. In South Phoenix, we have seen the benefits of community empowerment; and, here in Los Angeles, we have seen the hopes that education and job training are bringing to the young people of Watts.

For me and for all of us who took this tour, it was a remarkable four days. We saw a face of America that is not often seen -- a face in the shadows. But it is a face that should no longer remain hidden; because in these blessed times, we can see clearly that it is a face of considerable promise and potential. I took this trip because I wanted all of American business to see what enormous opportunities there are in America's new markets. And I wanted all Americans to see that by embracing these opportunities, by ensuring that we leave no one behind as we move forward into the 21st Century, we have a greater chance than at any time in our history to grow together rather than growing apart. *good*

We have seen and learned much this past week. The CEOs and national leaders I traveled with have spoken at every stop ~~and in between~~ about financial capital and its power to transform cities and rural areas. But today I want to talk to you about a different form of capital -- human capital. Because if we really want to develop these untapped markets I've been talking about, we have to develop the untapped abilities of the people in distressed

communities. If we give business the right incentives, it might locate there -- but it won't stay -- not without the skilled workers it needs to thrive and expand.

Today, America has a better opportunity than ever not only to create those jobs in new markets -- but to fill them with new workers. These are prosperous times for America. Our economy is strong -- the strongest in a generation -- and growing stronger, with 19 million new jobs and the lowest unemployment in 30 years. Now, more than ever, businesses are looking to expand, looking for new workers, looking for new opportunities. They have never had a greater incentive to look in the places several exits off the beaten path, and to give a chance to someone who might otherwise be left behind. Now is the time. If we don't seize that opportunity today, when in the world will we? *a missed applause-line opportunity. I never get a break. (?)*

Everywhere we've gone this week, we've met people eager for opportunity. They don't want charity. They don't want handouts. What they want is a hand-up -- a good, private-sector job and the simple pride of a paycheck. The communities I've visited are filled with gifted, creative, hard-working people. They're eager to work. I say: let's put them to work.

The working world they will enter, as you know, is changing dramatically. The three fastest-growing careers in America, offering far more than average pay, are all in computer-related fields. The high-tech industry employs more people today than the auto industry did at its height in the 1950s. And the very industries you might think were most resistant to technological change -- construction, auto, transport, retail -- are in fact embracing it, and being transformed by it. *Even the jobs at the Walgreens I visited -- retail jobs -- require*

Yet today, as Secretary Daley described, and as the new Department of Commerce study confirms, there is a "digital divide" -- between those who have the skills to succeed in the new economy and those who don't. The report shows us that gap is growing -- along lines of education, income, region, and race.

I don't think we have to accept that fate. I believe that the greatest potential of the new economy, of the Information Age we're living in, is to make sure that no one is left behind. Millions of Americans on the margins of the economic mainstream can now join in the enterprise of building our nation. For the very first time, a child in the inner city or most remote *part of Idaho country* rural town can have access to the same world of knowledge, at the same instant, as a child in the most affluent suburb. Imagine the enormous benefits to business, and to the American economy, if not just a fraction but all young people entering the workforce have that access and master those skills.

So our imperative is clear: If we want to tap the potential of new markets, we must unlock the potential of new workers. And any company smart enough to invest in these new markets must also be smart enough to invest in the people in those very same neighborhoods.

e.g. teach them algebra

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11-2

To build a strong workforce for the future. . . to make sure that we leave no one out and no one behind. . . we must invest in human capital, and give people the tools it takes to succeed.

Need broader
basis
resp. of
everyone

That is why my administration has made education America's number one priority -- through HOPE scholarships and Pell Grants, and by reducing class size and hiring 100,000 new teachers. That is why we are connecting every American classroom to the Internet. And that is why the commitments made today to NAF are so very important. Sandy Weill always says that today's students are tomorrow's employees. And he knows as well as anyone that the best way to expand opportunity, to create jobs, and to renew hope is to do it together -- private and public, business and government.

So I am pleased that AT&T is committing more than \$1.25 million to increase young people's access to the tools of the high-tech economy; that America Online will issue grants to help narrow the digital divide; and that Oxygen Media, on the cable network it will launch next year, will offer high-tech training on TV. I have often said on this trip that government works best as a partner to the private sector, as a catalyst that helps create the climate for opportunity and investment. That is the philosophy behind my New Markets Initiative: using tax incentives to leverage private-sector investment, to get capital flowing to people and neighborhoods it might otherwise miss.

I believe this tour has been a significant step toward opening America's new markets. But as we look ahead, we know that the real measure of our success is not whether CEOs joined the President on a trip to new markets but whether the same CEOs will return to those markets -- followed by other CEOs, and other entrepreneurs, and a flow of capital and energy and ideas.

V. good

This is more than a great business opportunity. It is a way to keep our economic expansion going with higher growth, higher wages, and low inflation -- but it is more than that, too. It is a moral and a civic responsibility. I want every business in America that has been blessed by this new economy to commit itself to seeing that every American is blessed by it as well. I want every corporate leader to assess whether outdated assumptions are keeping them from building new business relationships in new markets.

Good

Just ~~the~~ passage I was standing on ~~the~~ milk st. in Charleston

Most of all, I want every American to keep in mind and take to heart these words of Martin Luther King, Jr. In one of the lesser-known passages of his "I Have a Dream" speech, Dr. King challenged America "to refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity in this nation." Today, those vaults of opportunity are more full than at any time in our history. Our goal, then, must be to open them to more of our people -- from Appalachia to the Delta, from our cities to the remote regions of Indian Country -- and to give more Americans the chance to live the dream not only of Martin Luther King, but of our nation's founders. Thank you and God bless you.

was a little at

more fully

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. email | June Shih to Jeff Shesol at 10:07am. Subject: Conference of Mayors Video. (1 page) | 06/09/1999 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

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Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 19945

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FOLDER TITLE:

U.S. Conference of Mayors Video Feed 6/11/99 - U.S. Conf. of Mayors Video Feed -
New Orleans 6/11/99

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1298

RESTRICTION CODES

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concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

● June Shih

06/09/99 10:07:25 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Conference of Mayors Video

----- Forwarded by June Shih/WHO/EOP on 06/09/99 10:07 AM -----

▶ Paul J. Weinstein Jr.
06/08/99 11:38:41 AM
.....

Record Type: Record

To: Loretta M. Ucelli/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

Subject: Conference of Mayors Video

I am sorry I missed the meeting yesterday in your office. Andrea has briefed me on the message strategy and I concur in general. However, I want to emphasize that the President's remarks and the paper we hand out regarding the report should focus on the positive message of what is happening in our cities (eg: the first time in history that a majority of individuals own their own home in central cities) rather than on HUD's negative message of what a disaster we face in urban America. The President's remarks should not include a discussion of HUD's three findings; they are not helpful. Instead it should focus on the positives we have achieved and the need for the Mayors to support our budget initiatives, including new markets, expansion of the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit, Better America Bonds (which they are endorsing this week), and to protect CRA. Cuomo will inevitably call you at some point to twist your arm about the findings; let me know; I will twist it back.

I also understand from Bruce we may want to highlight some of our gun stuff.

June, call me if you need any more guidance on the remarks, I agree with you it only needs to be about seven minutes.

Message Copied To:

Thomas D. Janenda/WHO/EOP@EOP
Courtney M. Manning/WHO/EOP@EOP
Andrea Kane/OPD/EOP
Lisa Green/OPD/EOP@EOP
June Shih/WHO/EOP@EOP
Jennifer M. Palmieri/WHO/EOP@EOP
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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
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| 001. note | Handwritten. W.H. Strategy Session on Children, Violence & Responsibility. (11 pages) | 05/10/1999 | P5 |

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FOLDER TITLE:

WH Strategy Session - Kids & Violence 5/10/99 [1]

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1300

RESTRICTION CODES

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WH STRATEGY SESSION ON CHILDREN, VIOLENCE & RESPONSIBILITY

THE EAST ROOM 10:30 AM

Peer mediators

Terence } peer mediators — tends to help those who want to be helped

Simona }

Eric — web site

Mania

P: Are there more conflicts b/c of cultural differences among students?

↳ there a way to say to youth — good to have groups, if not hostile, + there shd be way to make connections b/w them?

What happened in Colorado?

Mano (AmeriCorps) — promoting Dr. King's beloved community through Nat'l service

P: Answer is to give kids positive things to do

mgk: mental health/suicide MEG

HRC: Her HS — all white — but danger, gangs, fights

- Admin formed Cultural Values Ctr — to bring people together

- But she doesn't recall this level of anxiety, depressions, 13 kids/day die of gun wounds

- Many-layered probs.

- Primary responsibility as adults is to protect kids

* - Human nature hasn't changed in these 35 yrs, but a lot of other things have

↳ more kids at risk — to cultural influences, availability of guns, lack of mental health services

Garbarino — dramatic events shdnt obscure long slow massacre —

2x as many deaths a week among poor kids

- epidemics hit most vulnerable populations

- good news: every wh. — catching kids w/ net (zero tolerance)

- accum. of risk factors. ↑ # troubled youth

↳ sense of reconnection

↑ from 10 to 20%

socially toxic culture 3 things

↳ abusive families 2) media good guys (40% violence)

↳ neglected

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3) spiritual emptiness — no emotional floor; no reverence for life

Good news: we can each be part of sol'n — whether guns, eat, mnt health

- lot harder to be parent today than 35 yrs. ago → need more support
- 90% of prob is boys, but girl violence ↑, cd be 3rd wave

Depression is critical b/c vast maj. — treatable psych. disorders

Child witness plenty of real-life violence

- Violence Against & act is crucial → more real violence
- look at Chicago pub schls violence prevention prog.
↑ self-esteem, min. impact of trauma

Phenoms:

Prob starts in late '60s

Murder-suicides — the latter half is underplayed

- this is adult prob. (killing families) moving into adolescence (peers)
- we need to work w/ their real-life experiences of violence
- violent exposure → fixation on violence

we know a lot of what to

urban planner: (Barner?)

Way to better integrate schls into community
school construction —

but have they grown too big?

cd be easier to administer

Is there a simple mechanical explanation for some of this isolation?

- each wants its own library, etc.

In diff env., kids cd have diff. experiences

Garbarino: old research showed cutoff of 500 for ~~entire~~
healthy env. for marginal kids — diff soc. env.

- natl initiative to get kids into smaller Hs

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Where kids are attached to sch^l + c/o, there aren't these probs.

~~Reid~~ Educators + Parents

Reid: Huge sch^{ls} — kids lose sense of identity

Deborah Meyer (?) has written on dividing sch^{ls} into sm. parts

Pam Kahle: Mothers Against Violence

- Prog: Students Against Violence
- power + perspective of students is critical — kids listen to kids
- begin w/ youngest kids (K-5)
- ID assets in community to work together at grassroots at all times w/ leadership at top

G. Feldman: Agree strongly that sm. schools are key

NYC — autonomous sm. sch^{ls} w/in one large H^{se} (work w/ Deb Meyer)

sepa Andrew Jackson H^{se} in Queens — very violent — parents

- worked w/ leaders, union → phased in 4 separate sch^{ls}
- stopped violence; now, waiting lists to get in ^{1st} floors + entrance
- "neighborhood mecca"

- one sports team, library → had to learn to share

- Need to bring more comm. into sch^l — parent/adult ed.

bring social services into the sch^l

- Parents shd do more "snooping"

Dr. Davis — parents need to be told it's OK to come into their kids sch^{ls}

- ^{this} respons. gets lost amid parents' professional respons.

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VP: Just as schools are too big, anon., + smaller schls cd be sol'n,
- same thing is true of our communities - commute, close garage, watch TV
- wait out the silence + let conversation open up - requires time
- smart growth + livable comm. are key,
but must rebuild sense of comm. + connectedness

Rivett: ~~if~~ grassroots mvt will have to draw upon comm. that connect w/ schls
or there will be more alienation
- Connect b/w comm.-based institutions - intercept early
sympathetic
- in inner city, despite difficulties, this doesn't happen b/c they
are intercepted early - not so much concern about free expression

Chase (NGA) - not a prob w/ our children but w/ our adults
who are not willing to provide them w/ what they need
- teachers may ID these kids, but there's no place to send
them
- must bring comm. together
so we adults can live up to our responsibility to children

Simonna: yes - adults shd show more active interest in soc life, but...
A lot of times adults bring judgment - so need

Shue - people are not engaging in community
community at home, at school, at large
- action must come out of this
- creative ways to engage kids who are being left out, not just
those who'll volunteer for service (Do something Fdu)
- "community coach"

Re: ~~Agg + setting~~
~~Agg + setting~~
~~Agg + setting~~

- Kindness + Justice contest for next day - 2m kids - 20,000 schools
- there's huge hunger for these activities

POTUS: Do something Fdn is the most astonishing thing

- Diverse grp will meet + work together over course of their lifetime

Pomer: something ^{new +} deeper — culture of violence

natural restraints of community — church, school, stores — fell away

- Focus on what culture can do to say no
- marketplace has replaced close contact; Net, too

P: 3 layers of probs

- 1) what's in larger culture
- 2) in kids' heads &
- 3) in family

- parents + kids aren't talking; need to be

Salazar — Issue needs bipartisan res.

19 June - Colo Summit on Youth Violence

- 1) early childhood critical
- 2) after-adul probs.

Need to restore meaningful rel. b/w adults + children

Spillet (Boys + Girls Club)

- Every child in America needs safe place
- not just to go but to grow

Foxman — Greater tolerance for intolerance + fewer safeguards

faith, values, respect, authority

- lot of good things happening — but how to share them?

Margor Belton (MPLS) - prog for young parents/families

- can we use this prog in conjunction w/ youth-serving orgs.?
- margins called for 100,000

Brownback: Nat'l Day of Reconciliation to deal w/ alienation?

HRC - culture of violence + culture of cynicism

- how do you get past reflexive disdain for talking about these things?
- How to convey these ~~unmarked~~ ideas?

Monsignor - moving our country from a culture of violence to culture of life?

Drew Altman - parent/child comm. early on b/p 8-12

(Kaiser) \Rightarrow parents are stressed - tune out when told they're failing, but respond to pos. offers

yes, but -

Garbarino - need to focus on making env. safer for when parents don't succeed

- safer world + efforts to improve parenting - that shd be strategy

Judge Page - domestic violence - people will respond to role models they see

- How many of us have spent time in sch talking, working w/ kids?



Worst thing is ^{cynical} child - goes from knowing nothing to believing nothing

Marya Angelon - What is the cancer in our society? What is eating us up? Prevarication. We lie... Must start talking w/ courage - w/o courage we cannot access any other virtues

Nancy Bicker (AMA) - Adolescents get caught in-between, lack coverage, esp. mental health

Sara - schools are the safest environment

Larger environment

Gloria Estefan - if adults are not connected to ep, how are we to expect more from our children - we must be first to reach out to ep

- her prog. in Miami - volunteer prog. to intervene early (age 0-9)
- through nat'l camp, joining together to take responsibility
- Commit to what we can do at home, or in our own fields
- "we haven't had a contentious moment - what's going on here?"

P: Internet allows for greatest connection - or isolation
- the irony of the tech rev.

Case - car - Tr } both, great promise for bringing us together but have also drawn us apart

- (Internet) - we are now at critical threshold - big enough to matter, but sm. enough to be shaped in pos. way
- trying to make it easier for parents, safer for kids, etc.

VP: Give credit to industry

Parental Control page one click away - allows parents to check on

- what about online access to unrated video games?

Lowenstein

- 9/10 games are bought by adults → need to better ↑ info about ^{ratings}
- virtually 100% compliance w/ prod. goods
- commits that ind + ratings bd. will work w/ ISPs to ↑ ratings

P: Must be sensitive to the vulnerable children. Most kids are fine, but these kids feel the impact of the new ESR

VP: V-Chip will have a profound impact on advertisers, etc.

- more accurate reading of what the ^{viewership} ~~industry~~ wants
- CBS + ABC have stepped up — NBC has not agreed to join in this nat'l sol'n — not represented here — what in hell is going on?
- needs to be more responsibility + accountability in ent. ind.

Moonves

- every family in Am. shd know what's coming into their home, + responsible broadcasters shd want them to know
- not even communal events on TV — separate TVs in same hse
- we shd promote media literacy

Eger - need to help empower parents
b/c we're bombarding kids

- fragmented viewing exp. → respons. to know how children are consuming our product
- hypocrisy: they say their shows have no impact on violence, but tell advertisers their ads will sell product

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- didn't glamorize violence or act like it's part of the problem
- Pub service campaigns ↑ + improved
- we can do a world of good (see drugs, literacy)

P: violence in media compounded by changing economics

- competing for sm. + sm. mkt shares → ↑ violent rush
- ad by Steve Allen + Shirley Jones to boycott ads for violent shows
- * How can Hollywood ↓ violent content + in some way send diff. signal?

Eger - violent programming not good for business (the V rating will help)

Moore - no correl. b/w high violence + high ratings

Anstrom NCTA

Guns

Ricker - V-chip prog on V-chip model - child lock device

80% compliance (90% by end of yr.)

- talked w/ Rendell about ways ind. cd work w/ Mayors
→ reexamined old points
- fruitful but broke down in Jan. - urge P to urge Mayors to get back on track
- very sm. % of young people are the prob.
- were hearing from Valenti many of the same args we've been making for yrs.

Schultz - emerging from bunker mentality

- if we don't put God back in then we'll ban a lot of things
- must change values; can't ban attitudes



maxwell -

Valenti - hasn't been to a ^{with} conf so serious a subject, so earnest in intent, so

- count the Am movie ind. as part of the crusade
- ~~the~~ priv mtgs in Hollywood — creative teams asking selves whether the violence, sex, lang is gratuitous — + creative scrutiny excise it
- parents have the ultimate authority

specific suggestion — early detection in the schls is needed more than anything else — Piker's guide is brilliant piece of premonition

- insert in pre-K, K-5 (ages 0-9, character is shaped) - characterized.

what Faulkner called the old virtues — character, honor, etc.

"what is rt. + what is wrong" — service + honor + duty

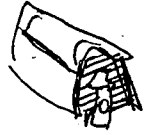
- sturdy moral shield against blandishments of peers + what they watch + hear

P: yes, only 2 bad kids at Columbine; but ^{too} many in past yr; and ^{culture's more violent} guns more accessible
we're kidding ourselves if we pretend otherwise

- story of Hollywood — Jewish immigrants created stories of opp., image of Am that was in ~~be~~ many ways better than real thing
these movies had salutary impact (I watched John Wayne)

above all,

Nichols — need mandatory punishment for any crime w/ firearms
Jannazzo — need firearms safety taught in schools
since 50% + homes in Amer. have firearms



Sarah Brady — NOT anti-gun or pro-gun — but against guns in the wrong hands

young,

FOP — parents used to be the final authority — must be consequences

P: How to follow up, how to have a real nat'l campaign present in real in every community

Glenn: Begin by asking, who's the customer?

- parents? teachers? children?
- I think the customer is the child
- Everything else is a delivery/distribution system to the child
- Goodwill despite our preconceptions

P:

~~But~~

we can do this — energize + mobilize — and that's going to be my goal + to do it quickly + report back to you

Dunn: What can we do in our own universes

leg. isn't always the answer

Members have access to schools — must take adv. of it

Youth Advisory Prog. — meet w/her

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. note | Handwritten. Jose. (1 page) | 05/1999 | P5 |
| 002. draft | Proposed Participants with annotations. (2 pages) | 05/06/1999 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 19945

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FOLDER TITLE:

WH Strategy Session - Kids & Violence 5/10/99 [3]

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1301

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

José:

Whatever we get media + gun people
to do is the news

- guns out of preview + ads?
José's pitch
- move to incl. 2-4 mfrs. + have them
agree to 5 or 6 provisions of our
kill, esp...
→ gun shows
- handgun ownership 18 → 21

FOP, PTA

- partnership w/ satellite co. in
Littleton?
- but small

Rose Gdn

- good mtg.
- here are some concrete outcomes

Gary Ross?

5/6/99 8:52 AM

White House Strategy Session on
Children, Violence, and Responsibility
May 10, 1999

DRAFT

Proposed Participants

1. The President
2. The Vice President
3. The First Lady
4. Mrs. Gore
5. The Attorney General
6. The Secretary of the Treasury
7. The Secretary of Education
8. The Secretary of Health and Human Services
9. General Barry McCaffrey
10. Television Slot: Les Moonves, President, CBS Television or Bob Iger, CEO, ABC or Robert Wright, CEO, NBC
11. Motion Picture Slot: Edgar Bronfman, Jr., CEO, Seagrams (Universal/MCA) or Howard Stringer, President, Sony USA or Michael Eisner, CEO, Disney
12. Steven Spielberg, Dreamworks
- ✓ 13. Steve Case, CEO, America On-Line
- ✓ 14. Doug Lowenstein, President, Interactive Digital Software Association
- ✓ 15. Jack Valenti, President, MPAA
- ✓ 16. Hilary Rosen, President, RIAA
- ✓ 17. Edward Fritts, President, NAB
18. Decker Anstrom, President, NCTA
- ✓ 19. Roxanne Spillett, President, Boys & Girls Clubs of America
20. Sandra Feldman, President, AFT
21. Bob Chase, President, NEA
- ✓ 22. Ginny Markill, President-Elect of the Parents-Teacher Association
- ✓ 23. Pam Eakes, Mothers Against Violence
24. Youth - TBD --KK
25. Youth - TBD --KK
26. Youth - TBD --KK
- ✓ 27. Dr. Prema Mathai-Davis, CEO, YWCA of USA
28. Abraham Foxman, National Director, ADL --OPL
29. Rev. Thomas McDade, Secretary of Education, US Catholic Conference
30. Robert Ricker, Executive Director, American Shooting Sports Council
31. Robert Delfay, President and CEO, National Shooting Sports Foundation
32. L.E. (Ed) Schultz, President and CEO, Smith and Wesson
33. Gun Manufacturer --TBD
34. Sarah Brady, Handgun Control, Inc. (HCI) --JC
- * ✓ 35. Gil Gallegos, National President, Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and Deputy Chief Albuquerque Police Department or Ron Neubauer, National President, International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) and St. Peters, MO Chief of Police or Thomas Scotto, President, National Association of Police Organizations (NAPO) --JC
- ✓ 36. Carl Bell, M.D.
- ✓ 37. Robert Pynoos, M.D.
38. James Garbarino, PhD.
39. Nancy Dickey, President, American Medical Association

✓ names to be released
* ✓ once called

Holder - TV?

(Surgeon Gen. repr. - Tues. TV?)

peer mediator - TC Williams; Americorps or Boys + Girls

Steve Hardaway
- " rifles

#2 Steve Young - Nat'l VP, FOP

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40. ~~State/Local Elected Official~~

Susan Baker or Tom Kean

41. Dr. Maya Angelou

✓ 42. Eli Segal - *best one to explain how a campaign might work*

43. Judge Alan Page --MM

✓ 44. Reverend Eugene Rivers

* ✓ 45. Colorado Slot --TBD *Ken Salazar*

46. Lauryn Hill or Recording Artist *Lisa Loeb? (Audrey Hepburn)*

47. Judy McGarth, President, MTV (t)

48. Drew Altman, President and CEO, Kaiser Foundation

49. Ad Council Slot --TBD

50. Members of Congress -- Leadership or designee --JM

51. Members of Congress -- Leadership or designee --JM

52. Members of Congress -- Leadership or designee --JM

53. Members of Congress -- Leadership or designee --JM

** once called*



Ad



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. draft | Note for Mark Katz. (1 page) | n.d. | P6/b(6) |
| 002. draft | Remarks at the White House Correspondents Dinner. [with marginalia] (7 pages) | 04/30/1999 | P5 |

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FOLDER TITLE:

WH Correspondents Dinner 5/1/99

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1302

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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04/30/99 4:40PM

People say
sured of NY press -
that we're scared of
is the coop board

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS DINNER
THE WASHINGTON HILTON
May 1, 1999

Good evening [*dais dignitaries*], White House Correspondents, ladies and gentlemen. I'd like to give a special welcome to the [home viewers and *New York Times* correspondents] watching this dinner live on C-SPAN. ↵

I hear the *Times* is boycotting the Dinner this year to protest its increasingly circus-like atmosphere. Tell me about it. I'm the guy who shows up every year and gets shot out of the cannon.

Maybe it has gotten a little out of hand in recent years, but as I look out on the audience tonight, I still see plenty of familiar faces. I think it's great that so many Hollywood celebrities have invited workaday Washington reporters as their guests.

Let me say that I think the *New York Times* has taken a principled stand and I support it. In fact, I challenge the *Washington Times* and *The Weekly Standard* to boycott next year's dinner.

Now, I know there was some talk about me not showing this year. I admit that the thought did cross my mind. But then I heard that if I didn't attend, Aretha might not, either.

And I just couldn't bear the thought of Scott Pelley getting up on stage to sing

"R-E-S-P-E-C-T."

Rodney D.

I know how she feels

It's a pleasure to see all the White House Correspondents here in this room tonight. It's a rare treat to see you all outside the White House gates. Get used to it. As a lot of you know, the National Parks Service is planning to relocate the White House briefing room to a larger facility outside of the West Wing. Which is too bad. Helen was just starting to get comfortable.

She's still miffed about the last time the White House briefing room was moved -- when the capital relocated to Washington from Philadelphia.

That's funny. That'll piss her off

But moving the briefing room so far away will be inconvenient for the White House as well. Leakers are going to have to start dialing 10-10-3-2-1.

The same experts ... on constitutional law

Now, these have been very busy times for the press corps. The same faces I saw ~~the 2000 pres race + the military campaign~~ handicapping the O.J. Trial, and then impeachment, are suddenly military experts. I hope the NATO commanders videotaped this morning's briefing by Retired General Howard Fineman.

Tell me: How did the Allies ever pull off D-Day without TalkBack Live?

I love w

Press coverage has certainly changed over the years. During the Hundred Years' War, the European press corps didn't start second-guessing until 1360.

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ten yrs after it started

Wilson things

Please me busy times for the press corps + I hope
Gen. Fireman
I personally esp. ~~enjoy~~ appreciate the commentary
Just imagine if today's press corps covered yesterday's wars. "Paul Revere's Warning:

Teddy P.
changes
up son
13
Homes
injured

Too Little, Too Late?" Or this one: "Lincoln Speaks at Gettysburg... Fails to Articulate Exit



Strategy."

This is better than other stuff

MacArthur to Philippines — I shall return
~~declines to say when~~ — Refuses to set spec. timetable

Real-time coverage of foreign conflicts puts real pressure on public figures. At the

critical moment, you've got to take a stand -- immediately, clearly, and decisively. Unless, of

course, you are the Governor of Texas.

ohh ...

I don't know.

That's right, just take your time.

They'll say I waffled ^{crap on} ~~Bumpers~~
on the Gulf War. ^{Prayer}

Like to get other thing — Too close to Colo — I think that'll work

This is, as you know, the last White House Correspondents Dinner of the millennium.

Now, a lot of people are worried the impact of the Y2K computer bug. I'm pleased to report

that we've been doing a lot of contingency planning. Plan A: We hold next year's dinner here.

^{our worst fears come true. everything breaks down.}

Plan B: We hold the dinner at a super-secret government installation, deep underground, safe

from the marauding looters on the streets above.

I know you'll hate to miss that ^{the real} ~~stom~~.

Of course, you'll have to go back up there to cover the

After dessert, I'm afraid we're going to have to ask you to leave.

news / them

But don't worry. The dinner will be delicious. We've already begun stockpiling rice

pilaf and bread sticks.

Frankly, I'm surprised you see any news value in all this millennium stuff. I mean, we've

only known about it for a thousand years now.

I think history will record that the world spent the last days of this millennium compiling lists. You may have seen a list compiled by the Newseum of the Top 100 news stories of the century. Everything from putting man on the Moon to the polio vaccine, ranked in order of importance.

I don't mind telling you that I'm on the Newseum list -- something about the events of the past year. Number fifty-three. [pause. indignantly:] Fifty-three? What does a guy have to do to make the top 50?

I don't like it.

At least that's just me, not them.

I came in six places after the invention of plastic, for crying out loud. I don't recall twelve months of round-the-clock coverage of the "miracle of plastic."

At least

like 18m new jobs — strongest econ.

I guess the best econ of the c. was ranked 101. [Too bad. just missed.]

I hope you'll forgive me if I cut the comedy a little short tonight. I have a lot of fun at these dinners, and I hope you do, too. It's good for all of us, I think, to step away from the work we do, if only for an evening, and to laugh a little before returning to the challenges at hand.

Those challenges, as you know, are many. We find them here at home, where we are still asking questions and seeking answers about the events in places like Littleton; and we find them

abroad, in Kosovo, where America and our allies are engaged in a difficult struggle for freedom and human rights. Neither challenge is easy; neither will be resolved overnight. We know that. But we also know that America is strong -- as strong as we have ever been -- and, just as important, we are using that strength as a force for what is good, and what is right, and rising to our responsibilities as a nation.

I was pleased to learn tonight that the White House Correspondents Association has made a donation to help the refugees in Kosovo. That's a welcome and valued contribution -- though no more so than the reports that you and your colleagues file every day, sometimes at great personal risk, to tell us a very important story.

As I said, that story may take some time to unfold. There will be difficult days ahead, requiring real bravery by our men and women in uniform, and steadfast commitment by our people. But America has risen to every challenge ever put before it. And we will rise to this one as well.

Thank you again for having me here tonight.

*he a friend of LBJ's?
screwed LBJ*

I hope you all enjoy Aretha Franklin and the rest of the evening. And I hope to see you all later. Last year, Sid Blumenthal swore he could get me in to the Vanity Fair party. And this year, I'm taking him up on it. Let's go, Sid. [Mr. President -- the Vanity Fair party is the most

*one been looking fwd^s
to it all yr*

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coveted party invitation; it is hosted by Christopher Hitchens]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

here all here at Ngt

pick up phone — call — cheer them up.

Let here honest debate
all you people

Johnny Apple
Mike Orestes is
at home watching &
here's his home phone #.

Admission There's something I need to discuss.
I have a confession to make.
Come clean — he was not really
a PM — he was an actor.

Tonight he got the real thing

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. memo | For the President from Michael Waldman. Subject: Hugh Sidney Interview on the Presidency. (8 pages) | 03/28/1999 | P5 |
| 002. note | Handwritten. Gene Edits USA Accts 4/14/99. (1 page) | 04/13/1999 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

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Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 19945

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FOLDER TITLE:

Hugh Sidney Interview 3/31/99

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1303

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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GENE - EDITS 8:30am 4/13

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talk to
Melissa — one pager for framework

Make case a little better

↳

— Soc Sec key — bedrock — but not only

— yet today, too

66%

avg assets

IRAs + 401(k)s — 2/3 over \$100,000

— have to do better — holes in system

→ I create USA — everybody

incentives for milk falling through cracks

Very simple

\$ auto in yr. acct.

but we do more — incentive to save — if you
do more, we match it

We have very serious policy case

By moving infra quickly, we miss rationale

MW:

will strengthen nation — that's why USA Act.

FPR-like explication — official — more like a back sheet

— Every Amer. can apply

— Govt subsidize

— Better deal than GOP tax cuts

make it easier to itemize

— open your own private acct +
we expect inst. to rush...
...just as you'd...

Here's what's diff - everyone

Fed govt will match your savings..

From earliest days in the workforce

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Too much class - + not enough gen-warfare

Younger workers will save - building up nest egg
from 1st days in workforce

Note of challenge to people on savings

Lib way to achieve cons. goal

Q: w/ US\$ acct, ^{we can say to} 25 yr. old worker think

you can start to save

" we can say to someone on welfare, watching stock mkt
quadruple in value, you can

w/ US\$ acct,

everyone in the US\$ can save... and that will be
good for the US\$

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. draft | White House Conference on Philanthropy: Gifts to the Future. (7 pages) | 10/18/1999 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 19946

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FOLDER TITLE:

Philanthropy Conference 10/22/1999

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1304

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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~~DRAFT Script 10/18/99 pm~~
~~Confidential~~ -- DO NOT CIRCULATE

The White House Conference on Philanthropy: Gifts to the Future

1:01 pm **HRC opens event [Lectern]**

1:02 pm **Introductory Video is shown [HRC returns to seats]**

1:06 pm **HRC makes remarks [Lectern]**

~~HRC makes opening remarks. In remarks, HRC invites "heroes" from the video
to stand and be recognized. Acknowledges agency co-sponsor and conference
fundors.~~

 ~~1:16 pm POTUS makes remarks [Lectern]~~

1:26 pm **HRC introduces panelists:**

Emmett Carson, Peter Hart, Justin Timberlake, Dorothy Johnson

[explains format]

[insert introductions]

1:28 pm **HRC turns to Emmett Carson,
Emmett Carson discusses these points:**

-- The importance of America's philanthropic tradition

-- The importance of recognizing the contributions of all segments of American
society, and the African American tradition specifically

-- The role of religion in philanthropy

-- The role of community foundations

-- How the giving tradition is taught through family, faith, schools, and nonprofit
organizations

1:32 pm **HRC response -- transition to diverse cultures of giving**

*America's tradition of giving is all the greater for ~~the diversity of communities
who contribute in their own ways~~. Many forms of giving are not captured by the
statistics that we collect through the IRS and other means -- especially when
families give to other families in need directly, without expecting a tax deduction
or going through an intermediary organization. Volunteer time is also hard to
capture, but it is a major way that many people, including those with less income,*

give to others. In the new Millennium, people of color will be a majority in this country, and the cultural norms of these diverse communities will have an impact on the face of American philanthropy.

There are several people in the audience who also have helpful perspectives on America's diverse giving traditions. Lorraine Cortes-Vazquez is the President of the Hispanic Federation of New York and the incoming President of Hispanics in Philanthropy. Evan Mendelson, the executive director of the Jewish Funders Network, will comment on the role of religious organizations in teaching the giving tradition. And then I'd like to ask Peg Talburtt, Executive Director of the Michigan Women's Foundation, to speak about women's funds. Let's start with Ms. Cortes-Vazquez.

1:34 pm **Lorraine Cortes-Vazquez discusses these points:**

-- ~~The strong giving traditions among the Hispanic community~~ and how they differ from mainstream philanthropy

-- Strategies to increase giving among communities of color generally

1:37 pm **Evan Mendelson discusses these points, speaking from the audience:**

-- Underscores the importance of ~~working with youth~~, describing the program her organization supports

-- ~~The role of religion~~ in teaching the ethic of giving

1:40 pm **Peg Talburtt discusses the following points, speaking from the audience:**

-- ~~A brief history of women's funds and giving circles~~ and how they work

-- The future of women's giving in the new millennium

1:43 pm **Optional POTUS response**

1:46 pm **HRC turns to Peter Hart, President of Peter Hart and Associates**

~~Peter Hart discusses these points:~~

-- The attitudes of the baby boom generation toward giving and how they differ from older generations

-- The attitudes of young people toward community involvement, giving back

The best strategies for involving the next generation of donors

1:50 pm **HRC turns to Justin Timberlake of N'SYNC**

Justin Timberlake makes the following points:

-- What motivated him to want to give back (family? Other influences?)

-- What his foundation will do.

1:53 pm

HRC turns to Dorothy Johnson, Michigan Council of Foundations

Dorothy Johnson discusses these points:

-- What the Michigan Council on Foundations is doing to involve youth in giving

-- The Corporation for National Service's youth service programs

-- The link between service and a lifetime of philanthropy

-- The role of schools in teaching giving, including service-learning

1:57 pm

HRC asks Johnson to introduce Chayo Long-Mendez, who is seated in the audience

I understand that you have brought with you today one of the young people who has participated in your program. Would you introduce her?

1:58 pm

Dorothy Johnson introduces Chayo Long-Mendez

Chayo-Long-Mendez speaks from the audience, briefly stating what involvement in the program has meant to her.

2:00 pm

Optional POTUS response

2:03 pm

HRC response



~~I want to underscore one point that Ms. Johnson made: the important connection between involvement in service as a youth and becoming a good citizen as an adult. One of the important efforts of this Administration has been to seed and encourage youth service programs—particularly AmeriCorps, which celebrated its fifth anniversary earlier this week, and Learn and Serve America, which funds service-learning programs in every state.~~

We have many other organizations with us as well who are working to engage young people in the practice of giving. I want to acknowledge that Girl Scouts, an organization which has long been committed to teaching the ethic of service is unveiling a new philanthropy patch. I want to commend the Girl Scouts for taking this important step and thank [tbd] who is here today.

It is so important to teach philanthropy from an early age. I am particularly pleased that a group of organizations, including United Way, 4-H, City Year, Save the Children, US Committee for UNICEF, and the Indiana Council on the Humanities have come together to plan a new initiative on youth philanthropy. The Gates Foundation, which has in such a short time made such a significant contribution to so many important issues – from public access computing to family planning and a range of health issues to educational opportunity for minorities – is committed to supporting the next stage of the group's planning process. I'd like to ask Patty Stonesifer, co-chair of the Gates Foundation, to say a few words.

2:05 pm

Patty Stonesifer discusses these points, speaking from the audience

-- Comments on the White House Conference, acknowledging that it is stimulating action in many areas, particularly youth and philanthropy

-- Confirms the Gates Foundation's intention to help the youth organizations take their planning to the next level by supporting a working conference

-- Challenges other funders to become involved in the issue

2:07 pm

HRC invites audience to take a very short break while Carson, Hart, Johnson, and Timberlake are reseated in the audience.

New panel is seated on-stage

2:12 pm

HRC introduces next portion of the program.

Notes that audience is free to get up for refreshments or to stretch their legs.

HRC introduces panelists:

Kevin Fong, Cate Muther, Steve Case

[Insert introductions].

2:14 pm

HRC turns to Kevin Fong, Mayfair Group

Kevin Fong discusses the following points:

-- Describes how venture capitalists approach philanthropic giving

-- Discusses attitudes of "Silicon Valley" donors

-- Comments on the interest of such donors in social entrepreneurs – nonprofit leaders who use business principles to further their causes

2:18 pm

HRC turns to Cate Muther, Founder of the Three Guineas Fund

Cate Muther discusses these points:

-- A brief description of the Three Guineas Fund

-- The way that givers in the high tech world are approaching philanthropy, emphasizing differences with traditional givers/Venture Philanthropy

-- How we can expand the number of those from the high tech community who invest in the nonprofit sector

2:22 pm

HRC turns to Steve Case, Co-Founder of AOL

Steve Case discusses these points:

-- How technology presents unprecedented opportunities for increasing giving

-- Why nonprofit organizations need to get up to date on new technology as consumers are increasingly turning to the internet for information

-- What are possible pitfalls to avoid

2:26 pm

HRC response

One of the ways that many companies are assisting the nonprofit sector and working to stimulate giving among the public is to apply new technology, particularly the internet, in innovative ways. At today's E-Philanthropy Roundtable, sponsored by the National Charities Information Bureau, Greater Good, Charitable Way, and the AOL Foundation, a group of nonprofit organizations and companies came together to discuss the pitfalls and potential of giving through the internet. I'd like to ask one of the organizers of the e-philanthropy conference to talk about what has been accomplished and what more they plan to do. Bill Massey is the President of the National Charities Information Bureau. Bill, could you fill us in?

2:27 pm

Bill Massey discusses the e-philanthropy conference, speaking from the audience

2:30 pm

HRC response

This has given me a lot to think about. I'm sure that many of you are eager to get into the discussion. Those of you participating via Satellite may want to break after our next speaker to have your own discussions -- I hope that you will send us your ideas and conclusions, as well as new efforts you might choose to undertake as a result of this conference.

2:32 pm

POTUS makes concluding remarks and departs

2:35 pm

Closing credits on Satellite

2:50 pm **HRC opens up the discussion with the audience**

Now let's hear from some of you.

First, let's talk about teaching generosity – I know that there are many innovative programs represented in this room, and some young people who are heroes in their own right here with us today.

Second, we've heard a lot about technology and venture philanthropy. I can only imagine the innovations going on around the country. Tell us about them.

And finally, it has struck me that the common thread running through this conference – the common strategy that attracts young and old, new and traditional givers, people of all religions and cultures – is the importance of building community ties. Americans strongly desire connectedness, and as they achieve those ties, they are more likely to give of their time and their money. Let's explore this idea.

To begin our discussion of "teaching generosity," I'd like to ask Malik [pronounced "Muh – leek"] Evans to share with the group the results of this morning's discussion on youth and philanthropy, organized by the Corporation for National Service.

2:52 pm **Malik Evans speaks**

2:54 pm **HRC invites others to comment on topic of teaching generosity.**

3:10 pm **HRC introduces second topic – technology and venture philanthropy**
One of the themes that all of our speakers have alluded to is that people are more likely to give if they are asked – a seemingly obvious truth, but one that bears thinking about. We have also heard how institutions – schools, churches and synagogues, community organizations – can play a role in stimulating individual giving. Employers are increasingly playing this role, working with the United Way or developing their own matching gifts programs. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, from Harvard Business School, one of the country's leading experts on corporate community involvement is with us today. Rosabeth, would you give us your views on innovations around the country in this area.

3:11 pm **Rosabeth Moss Kanter discusses the following points, speaking from the audience:**

- Why corporations are increasingly interested in community involvement
- How employees (and customers, vendors, etc.) are important assets to corporations seeking to have an impact in the social sector

-- What some innovative companies are doing in this area (ie IBM, Timberland, others)

3:14 pm **HRC invites others to comment on topic of technology and venture philanthropy.**

3:30 pm **HRC introduces third topic – diverse traditions**

Finally, let's talk a little more about ways that different communities in this country are approaching philanthropy as we head into the new millennium. I'm particularly interested in the Native American community – we have one of the major innovators in the philanthropy field with us today – Rebecca Adamson, founder and president of the First Nations Development Institute, could you speak to this point?

3:31 pm **Rebecca Adamson discusses these points, speaking from the audience:**

-- The Native American giving tradition

-- The creation of the First Nations Fund

-- Innovations in the Native American community

3:34 pm **HRC invites others to comment on topic of diverse traditions in American philanthropy**

3:50 pm **HRC asks Bill White, Mott Foundation to speak**

We need to wrap up what has been a very interesting discussion. But before we close, I'd like to ask Bill White, President of the Mott Foundation, one of our major sponsors, to have the last word.

3:51 pm **Bill White speaks**

3:54 pm **HRC makes closing remarks**

4 pm **Conference is adjourned**

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. note | Handwritten. Trade Principals' Meeting. (2 pages) | 10/12/1999 | P5 |
| 002. note | Handwritten. Emergency Committee for American Trade. (2 pages) | 09/23/1999 | P5 |

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WTO [World Trade Organization] Seattle Agenda - DLC Gala 10/13/99 - DLC Gala
(WTO) 10/13/99 [1]

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1305

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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TRADE PRINCIPALS' MTG. - Spelling office 3:00 pm

10-12

AG

Biotech - importance we attach to food safety [S.E. i. and edit]

BIG PICTURE

SG: don't throw down gauntlet

Steinberg: be a little more explicit about olive branch — others will have agenda
+ goals they want to reach

SG: What about LDCs?

incl. tech. asst. ; world Bank

3) ag: great opp to move biotech from last pg. to here

- food safety — we have strong reg. system

- we WTO rules as intended — to prevent barriers...

CB: there is no due process or transparency on biotech — so there is
not using science at all

UB: not artificial trd. barriers, but sound science-based reg. process

CB: not "another goal" at Seattle

instead, as a principle ("I agree...")

4) "New type of rd" — sharpen soundbite

- keep up human face element — why is this diff.?

Too much "our values"?

Steinberg: Need more on our commitment to doing our part to keep
our markets open [UB: add to #3 — "and we have + we will"]
- universality of WTO as broader principle (organizing) for #5

→ split #5 into

a) universality

b) developing countries

- we talk about unilateral
? CBI, Africa, SE Europe

* - expanded mult. access

m: (+) expanding the ^{community of nations} ~~rules of countries~~ that benefit from ^{trade} + play by the rules of ^{trade}] (add in for point #5)

SB: p. 4 (#4) we need to do more to ensure that all ^{working ~~men~~ ~~women~~} people ^[understand] have a stake... ^[are aware of their]

CB: Ag - put export subsidies above tariffs

Trade ~~supporting~~ domestic supports?

- 85% of global ag subsidies are paid by ~~EU~~ ^{EU} - put in cap. [Glickman stat.]

trade distorting [?]

CB:

Sec. Summers — see prepared text for Chicago *
Imports → low-cost prods. + land from Stephanie
competiti

From America's oldest business — farming —
to its newest — the Internet.

→ one in every 4 acres ^{planted} in America is planted for exports

JS.

EMERGENCY CTTE FOR AM. TRADE

- From NAFTA to Uruguay - trade msg. has failed
- it says more trade → more jobs
But in fact it's not more but better jobs
 - Congress ~~is~~ sees losers
 - msg. had no emotional content
we never sell it

9-23

Bill Knapp
Jim McLaughlin

will develop msg.
for priv sector for
ministerial

What resonates emotionally in msg. on trade?

Insights

- No absolutism on free trade - not all good or bad
- Choice (consumer) doesn't resonate emotionally
- "Isolationism" is worst msg
- Globaliz. / new econ. scare people
- "infinite possibilities," "frontiers," + "pioneer spirit" resonate
- we lose the jobs msg.
- Competition reminds people there are losers

* Results of trade are seen as random + not tied to individual efforts
- inevitable but hard to control

Trade w/o saying "trade"

- new mktz. ; infinite possibilities ; new frontiers ; earth ; pioneer spirit

Slogan: "Trade: Discovering the Opportunities"

Contrast to anti-trd lanog

For fair (not free) trade

It's building a better life here

No limits to what we can achieve

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"Words to use/lose" — get from Knapp

→ open mktz. ; competition ; new econ. ; new/more jobs ;
global econ. ; protectionism ; open/free/world trade ;
open foreign mktz.

td ; choice / more choice ; quality ; value ; higher stds of living ; hope ;
happiness ; freedom ; pioneers ; earth ; opportunity ; explore ; home ; new ad
- things we want ; no limit / unlt. ; unlt. possibilities ; growth ; isolationism

optimism / pessimism divide

Those who are isolationists are selling America short

WTO is like black helicopters / new world order

- so opponents bash WTO, not trade per se
- don't waste a minute defending WTO (faceless bureaucrats + corp-greed)
but do defend rules-based trade; + sympathize w/ them, urge reform of WTO, but for sake of opportunities, etc.

Kalen — one of reasons we chose Seattle is b/c lab/env./trade peacefully coexist
we need to do better job of telling story of Seattle itself

Knapp — continue to push opposition toward isolationism

- but then pivot into the positive — we don't win war of neg. characteriz.
- give an inch to take a mile...

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| 001. note | Handwritten. Meeting with Lael and Rick Samans. (5 pages) | 10/1999 | P5 |
| 002. note | Handwritten. MW. (2 pages) | 10/1999 | P5 |
| 003. note | Phone Number. [partial] (1 page) | 10/10/1999 | P6/b(6) |

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Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz225

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MITG. W/ LAEL + RICK SAMANS

1) Intl and 2) dom. treatment of themes

↳ growth (trd = growth)

* - recovery from crisis

- trd → peace, security

- new rd. wd. extend US leadership (history - involve Kennedy rd)

↳ Domestic

- wd extend expansion

- exports help farm econ

96 Freedom to Farm reforms

- aim: broaden prosperity, quality of life

- to make intl inst reflect on values

US leadership for world is good

parallel - but US ~~aud~~ audience here is most important

crisis - we kept mltzs open → helped
peace + security - since GATT (post-war), haven't had destabilizing
tariffs (smooth) that spiral, → war
- so, more + more countries → ↓ conflict
→ stabilize.

- USTR doc: these rds → dom. stability + peace

- key to US leadership in ea. rd. - driving force
propelling fwd

then...

Domestic

Seattle is about: jobs
qual. of life
values

Farm econ is backbone of our econ - first + foremost, nation of farmers..
 some of most competitive in world
 need opps.

Ind. base is engine of econ.

- mfr. sector has suffered most from contraction of ~~ind.~~ demand

US is nation of entrep. + pioneers

cutting edge of tech, biotech

win-win prods. - aer cos. - med. red.

so as we need access to their mktz... improve their std. living
 need to make sure system works w/ values

- working cond.; preserve planet;
 accountability of global inst.

AG

little touch of humanity - farm community/heartland
 remarkable - most compet

deserve opp to

- in Uruguay rd. we put it on agenda (4th time)

now we must move fwd fairly + aggressively [world US]

goals - 1) ↓ tariffs (2 good facts...) [50 vs 10%] - a shame
 vs. ind goods: 5%

2) call on EU others to elim. export subsidies

we shd not be competing on basis of govt transfers
 but on quality of goods, etc.

- go very wrong on this, incl. states (50% EU budget)
 good for us, + them

3) fund. refs. to stop hurting price cycles
 fluctuations in commodity prices

so not to encourage further prod. at times of low prices
 don't support not tied to prod. so not to ↓ prices

4/2/93

* Ag exports = 1/4 \$ of ag prod. is exported

1/3 growth b/w Uruguay + crisis

ea. \$ created → another \$1.25 in supporting activity

Stars

Some commodities (ie., wheat) are nearly 50% exported
spec examples

2) GOODS + SERVICES

MANUFACTURING - remains at core - $\frac{1}{4}$ GDP.; 19m jobs
 $\frac{2}{3}$ of total US exports; ~~have exported~~
grown nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ since 1992

* What's key:

huge boom due to exports following Uruguay + NAFTA
following weakness is all due to \downarrow exports
what it needs is more trd., not tariffs

1 - \downarrow tariffs
examples of how others have \downarrow tariffs through WTO
we need to level playing fields

2 - simplifying trd rules

* let's not wait - for those sectors ⁸ \uparrow 29% tot US exp (chem, med/sci equip - as agreed at Auckland)
in Seattle, let's do it

* transparency - govt procurement

let's also agree to make govt proc. transparent + subj. to comp.
bidding - to \uparrow score for corruption but also open mkt.

SERVICES

Also need to set ambitious goals ...

At Uruguay, we made it for 1st time subj. to intl rules
(telecom, fin. services - what if I want)

* trd is not about ag + mfr alone anymore

services are vital/vibrant part of our econ + world
they shd have same rules

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nod to entrepren. spirit

we also need to ensure worldwile mkt to max. our creative potential
[see other 2. pgs.]

- * 1) At Seattle, let's extend moratorium on e-commerce tariffs
+ to extend benefits more widely (telemed., etc.)
- 2) 2nd agreement spreading our O tariff commit. more broadly
(ITA II)

HUMAN FACE... I know these are contrar., & for us who believe in mktz,
Basic goal of trd policy we believe it shd be shared more broadly
is to ↑ Am. std. living, opp., incms.
So we also want to broaden enjoyment of these benefits
= human face on trd.

*

LABOR: I know that many nations don't agree; see agenda skeptically
many not agree this yr or even next
but over time, all peoples will agree: trd shd be force for ↑
core lab. stds, not weakening + it's approp. to discuss in context
of rules for trd.

Way you do this is to engage + lead, not to isolate yourself

heightened change → need to broaden benefits
3 sets of initiatives (see paper #4)

Lael: start w/ lab. issues have been put aside too long

- * time to create a working group w/in WTO on lab. stds.
(hedge) - don't overemphasize
+ we need intl orgs. to do their part...

ILO + its role - I went there... I think we need to strengthen ckn b/w WTO +
ILO

#7)

much better off having

involve MW themes from crisis — bringing them into system of rules
trade → better consumers (↑ wages) [fact or fig.]?
better competitors (same rules)
better security partners (giving them a stake in global system)

to: - lofty — former comm. countries want chance; and be given
opp. to join rules-based
→ enhances our security for new millennium
pol. as much as econ.

Moment for us to embrace all nations in system that won this victory

- good for them as it is for us

Accessions — expansion of ILO

Why Seattle is so vital

not just about new round

it's also about Am. leadership + why we shd lead the world on this

Optimistic defense about engagement

+ the opp. it gives us ...

Talking to critics about their concerns

- ach. the challenge (not just to create growth but to broaden it)

* - but best way to meet these challenges is to engage

+ we have an agenda to do so

spec. agenda for trd. lib.

but parallel agenda on use of intl inst.

mw

yes, but... (our 3rd way) - yes, liberalization;
msg. but, it must support our values

New kind of round

MC - rebuilding consensus

Always make the policy serve the msg.

Dr.



What is at stake is something more than the spread of free markets or the strength of the global economy. It is the chance not only to lift billions of people into a worldwide middle class but also to bring them more fully into the family of nations, and to count them as closer allies in our efforts toward peace and reconciliation. We live in a moment of great promise. It is also a moment when America is called upon to lead – to collect the unruly energies of the global economy into channels that advance our interests, enhance our security, and reinforce our values. So let us go to Seattle, and let us begin.

Thank you.

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| 001. note | Handwritten. [Meeting for IMF Speech] 1:45pm. (5 pages) | 9/1999 | P5 |
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Press 9/29/1999

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2006-0467-F
vz1306

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

all

1:45 pm
10 mins
written

2:00

1) Ramp up emotion +
specificity (anecdotal) HPIC/
POV

TP for religious leaders bkfst
- spec. ex.

US is doing its part

see Larry's dev. ctte (remarks)
pleased they're doing part too
- IMF + WB moving in that dir
and then

2) Trade - Seattle (use Moore's stuff)
targeting two dev. countries

- assume it's 5 min. version so
we cd add this later

- Pivot (Tim): provide sp for dev. countries
make sure agenda is shaped to help them
to take full adv. of globaliz.

3) fin arch - last addn - touch
2 sent. at top on

4) touch on corruption ^{part}

5) environment (part of pov.)

Halperin

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Also -

Ken Bernard
NSC - Health Affairs

environment

- couple lines
- one or two slutz.

Russia

- squandering \$; corruption
- accountability
- see G-7 statement
- couple lines here, too

Always concerned about corruption;
there are sufficient safeguards
re: Russia

- fold into arch. — about ↓ risk
of capital flows moving out;
creating basis

I know there are concerns — I
upland steps taken, safeguards —
I look fwd to working w/ them
for avg. Russians...

(see Summers testimony)

Ride 69715

Samantha

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Corruption

part of Cologne/HIPC

structure makes sure benefits reach people
fiscal mgmt systems are better,
transparent, accountable

at end - trade

pivot into Seattle (looking fwd.)
important opp for dev. countries
appeal to them to get involved

HIPC

as emotional a pitch as possible

⊛ dwell on importance we place on
debt relief must → for alleviation
show he's serious about seeing it through

→ our budget amend.

in serious about it...

only \$1b

to make good on Amer's commit.

in pleased other countries...

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lean on
Ride
summons

Lanson on Seattle:

pivot —

(see Larry's dev. comm.)

trade got us through crisis
→ deepen commit.

WB/IMF have key role in
making benefits reach across
all citizens (like us)

Why is this for DCs?

38 dev. cos. at Seattle ^{will be} admitted to WTO

WTO — rules + a framework for investors
→ confidence in knowing how trd
is conducted

integrated this w/ WB to make
progs help dev cos broaden
benefits of trd; ed, etc.

Helping

tech change — Internet stuff

[biotech — recognizing full ben.]
(rhetoric not commitment)

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[enhancing mkt openings
us wants to ensure access for least
developed countries]
Sen — At. trade leg +
Camb. basinf trd leg
this session

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| 001. email | Jason Furman to Jeff Shesol at 5:37pm. Subject: NEC Comments (2 pages) | 09/25/1999 | P5 |
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Budget Surplus #s 9/27/1999

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2006-0467-F
vz1307

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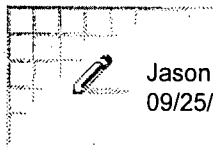
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Jason Furman
09/25/99 05:37:53 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP, Patrick M. Dorton/OPD/EOP@EOP, Carl Haacke/OPD/EOP@EOP
Subject: NEC comments (following a conversation with Gene)

Jeff-

The attached is a draft fact sheet -- the numbers are all subject to change and it has not been fully cleared



by Gene. But it may be (belatedly, alas) useful. SurplusFY99.do

Nice speech. I talked to Gene and others at NEC and we (most importantly, him) had the following suggestions:

✓ 1. Gene feels that the President's offer to work with Republicans will only seem real if it is repeated in every speech. To this end he suggests adding a paragraph toward the end saying something like: We should not throw in the towel, lets work together. We have two surpluses in a row and this provides an opportunity to continue the job the American people want us to do. I have asked the Republicans to work with me on a lockbox that extends Social Security solvency to 2050. I have asked the Republians to work with me in good faith on strengthening Medicare while modernizing it with a prescription drug benefit. I have asked them to work with me on spending for our priorities that is based on honest and straightforward policies...

✓ 2. The interstate highway example seems out of place (arguably this is part of the reason that we have not seen two years in a row of surpluses since 1957!) Gene liked the Braves example, but he personally thought the Jack Lew comment was not necessary.

✓ 3. After "the budget deficit was \$290 billion" you could insert "and projected to rise above \$400 billion by this year." (Alternatively you could put this earlier, just something to show the context of this achievement by comparing it to what was expected).

✓ 4. You might want to put the context of the lower-than-expected debt has brought interest rates and mortgage payments down, possibly with numbers from the fact sheet (if you think this makes sense). Could also do more on interest rates fuel investment, creating better jobs, putting more money in people's pockets, ...

X 5. After the 1957 paragraph you may want to have a new paragraph which starts with something like "If you look this chart the fiscal situation has improved 7 years in a row for the first time in the history of our Nation." You could follow up with something like "I asked my economic advisers to tell me what the chances of that happening by accident are, and it is less than one in five hundred." (FYI, if you use it I want to discuss this number with OMB. Another interpretation could give you 1 in 128.)

sounds defensive

6. In the penultimate paragraph you may want to highlight the debt paydown more, inserting something

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like "pay down the debt by 2015, making America debt free for the first time since Andrew Jackson was President."

✓ 7. You may want to make something rhetorically about how this is the first triple-digit surplus we have seen.

If you have any questions you can page me,
Jason

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. note | Handwritten. Start in 1993. (2 pages) | 9/1999 | P5 |
| 002. note | Handwritten. Leave Draft in Joe's Chair. (1 page) | 9/1999 | P5 |
| 003. email | Paul Glastris to Jeff Shesol at 9:42am. Subject Revised Veto. [with marginalia] (3 pages) | 09/21/1999 | P5 |
| 004. email | Paul Glastris to Jeff Shesol at 9:42am. Subject: Latest Veto Remarks. (3 pages) | 09/21/1999 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 19946

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FOLDER TITLE:

Veto: GOP Tax Cut Bill 9/23/1999

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1308

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

* [Start in 1993
econ preamble

do surplus projection? or debt reduction #s?

Based on Aug. projections, we'll have
\$ paid down debt \$150b over 2 yrs.

do this next
day — slam
lost for turning
in towel

let's stop gimmicks — come up w/ realistic #s on
env., ed., etc...

Gene: making sure we're meeting obligations to future
(gives more coherence to our priorities)

if we do this, sm. prog. that puts 1st things 1st,
ld be willing to compromise, meet some of Gov priorities
others: long-term care, etc.
some progressive savings options

give full effort on med / soc sec

we prefer 75-year fix for soc sec.
but we must do real lockbox...

3:00 Rose garden

~~TV pool in Oval at 2:30 — taken more seriously~~
audience of AARP, teachers?

* wants it very short

teaching hospitals
and, most importantly

penultimate ¶:

as we meet goals...

then there'd still be rm. to do targeted inc tax cut that incl's the
Repub's top priority — marriage penalty,
along w/ long-term care, schol modern, child care, ed.

~~He's on the track:~~
~~Edouard's in the~~
~~good progress~~

* ~~Spec~~ JP: 1st things 1st
for sec/med / put aside gimmicks
long-term plan ^{for long-term investment} ed, but, med research, defense
then I think we'll still have enough
left for substantial inc tax cut

↳ Greer: most prudent thing to do
but fix Medicare — some sense of timing
Joel: I think they've almost got a bill
POTUS cd wave bill + say...

I know Gov Congress won't agree w/ every
but they shd have to say what they'd do w/...

solu

med care reform

I will designate team — 2nd Fl. of WH

By end of Oct., it's been 3 mos.

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* leave final on Joe's chair

Geac:

Tone - has to sound like he's willing
to compromise - earlier draft
isn't there

JP: ~~Don't mix the two~~ ~~one~~

low int. rates; home mortgages
And the Amer public knows it

GG: Econ

Lie said can't do

we've now reached consensus - until we do socsec/med,
we want

Joe:

JP: The Amer people have seen it in their textbooks, in mortgages,
colleges, etc.

quff And that's what the Amer people want to cont. on this course
Amer people faced w/ choice — turning back
* They've made their choice — fisc. disc.; investment in people
This isn't a pol. decision; it's a pocketbk decision
quality of life

Then current 4th ¶

2. covers

Veto ¶ (bold) all fucked up.
soundbite:
veto b/c it does A, B, C...



Paul D. Glastris
09/21/99 09:42:09 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: revised veto

Draft 9/21/99 9:00 a.m.

Glastris

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON VETOING TAX CUT BILL
ROSE GARDEN, THE WHITE HOUSE
September 22, 1999

sound bite
Last week, when I returned from an important trip overseas, I found here on my desk a tax bill that the majority in Congress had sent me while I was away. It is a tax bill that I have repeatedly promised to veto, and tonight I will do so, because I believe this bill represents a *drastic* ~~dramatic~~ step backward for America. ~~But it is also~~ *I believe we must continue to move* ~~important to~~ move America forward. So today, I will offer a new compromise on tax cuts, one that Republicans and Democrats ought to be able to support, because it reflects values all Americans support. *→ sometimes which can be in*
One of those values is ^{fiscal} responsibility--often in short supply here in Washington. In the 12 years before I became President, irresponsible fiscal policies in Washington had piled deficit upon deficit and quadrupled the national debt. As a result, interest rates and unemployment were rising, wages were stagnant, and growth was slow. Vice President Gore and I came to office determined to change all that. With Congress' help, we put in place a new economic strategy of fiscal discipline, expanded trade, and investment in our people. *is working → has*

That strategy ~~worked~~. It produced lower interest rates, and ushered in the longest peacetime economic expansion in American history, with 19.4 million new jobs, rising wages, and record-breaking levels of home ownership. And it turned a federal deficit of \$290 billion in 1993 into a budget surplus of \$99 billion this year, with further surpluses predicted for years to come. Now, our hard-won prosperity gives us something few generations have ever had: the opportunity to truly shape our future by meeting our long-term challenges. I believe we must maintain our fiscal discipline by using the bulk of our surpluses to pay down the national debt. We can make America debt free for the first time since 1835. That will produce lower interest rates, which in turn will mean lower mortgage payments, lower car payments,

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more business investment, more jobs, and greater economic growth in the 21st Century.

We must also meet the challenge of an aging America by strengthening Social Security and securing and modernizing Medicare. Unless we act now, (in 16 years) the Medicare trust fund will be insolvent, just as the Baby Boom generation begins to retire. That is why I have proposed a plan to use a portion of the surplus to extend the life of the trust fund; and to modernize Medicare to keep costs in line, improve quality, and add a long-overdue voluntary prescription drug benefit.

We can meet these and other long-term obligations, continue to invest in vital areas like education, the environment, science, technology, and defense--and still have money left over for tax cuts to help us educate our children and prepare for the aging of America. In my balanced budget, I have proposed tax breaks to help communities build or repair 6000 schools nationwide, so that our children--the largest generation ever in the public schools--will no longer have to be taught in trailers or in classrooms that are falling apart, as too many are today. I have proposed tax breaks of \$1000[ck] a piece for families who shoulder the extra responsibility of caring for an aging parent or relative at home. And I have proposed tax credits for working families, in the form of universal savings accounts, or USA accounts, to help them invest and save for retirement.

But while I do favor tax cuts, I believe the current tax bill simply goes too far. It is too big, and too bloated. It would make it impossible to pay down the debt, strengthen Social Security, and secure and modernize Medicare. It would force drastic cuts in education, health care, and other priorities.

It would put our nation's prosperity by abandoning fiscal discipline. And

It would take America backwards, in order to keep America moving

So today, I will veto this tax bill, not just to keep us from sliding backwards, but also to move us forward. We can now move beyond bloated tax bills that everyone knows I won't sign. We can drop budget gimmicks that everyone knows I won't accept, like adding a 13th month to the fiscal year. Instead, we can get to the work the American people sent us here to do, and fashion a budget that meets the challenges of the 21st Century, and that Republicans and Democrats can support.

The majority in Congress has said that one of their highest tax cut priorities is ending the so-called marriage tax penalty. That is the quirk in the tax code in which two-earner married couples are taxed at a higher rate than they would have been had they filed separately. I believe, as do many Democrats, that the marriage tax penalty is simply not fair. In fact, I have supported bills in the past that addressed it. So today, I say to Congress: let us all, Republicans and Democrats, agree to end the marriage tax penalty as part of an overall budget solution. To pay for this additional tax break, I will put aside, for now, my own proposal for creating USA accounts to help working families save for retirement. I still think USA accounts are a great idea. But for now, I believe I have a larger responsibility to make progress in a way that does not sacrifice fiscal discipline.

I call on Congress to do the same. Our current prosperity gives us a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to secure a brighter future. We must seize that opportunity. The Senate has

By I have said repeatedly
the question before us is
not whether to have tax cuts
but whether to have tax cuts
that kind of tax cuts are
and have. The question is
believe the cut is right
kind of tax cuts are
one that helps
America to meet
our long-term
challenges.

4
reiterates
3 principles

and two great
a burden on
Nat'l int. / owner's
future.
fiscal int.?

part of
a budget
responsible

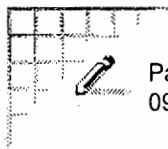
deal-
income

maintains
our
hard-won

agreed to debate measures to deal with the challenges of Medicare. I applaud that effort, and call on Congress to continue until ^{that} your work is done. Secure Medicare and modernize it with a prescription drug benefit. Invest the surplus to pay down the debt. Pass an affordable tax cut plan that addresses the challenges of the future; that builds or repairs 6000 schools; that helps families care for aging relatives at home; and that ends the marriage tax penalty. These are goals Republicans and Democrats can agree on. We can be flexible on how we achieve them, and if you pass them, I will sign them. But I cannot and will not compromise the fiscal discipline that brought ^{America} us to this moment of profound prosperity and opportunity.

as made this moment - that has created for America this profound prosperity - unprecedented opportunity.
In a message to Congress in ¹⁹⁵² 1952, President Harry Truman said: "The current strength of our economy is our starting point today. We must move forward to advance that strength." ^{today} Forty-seven years later, those words ring ~~ever~~ *just as true* remarkably true. And so today, with a strong America as a starting point, let us resolve to advance that strength into the 21st Century.

Thank you, and God bless America.



Paul D. Glastris
09/21/99 11:34:41 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: latest veto remarks

Draft 9/21/99 11:30 a.m.

Glastris

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON THE TAX BILL
ROSE GARDEN, THE WHITE HOUSE
September 22, 1999**

On my desk is a tax bill that the majority in Congress had sent me last week. It is a tax bill that I have repeatedly promised to veto, and today I will do so, because I believe this bill represents a drastic step backward for America. I believe we must continue to move America forward. So today, I will offer a new solution: a package of tax cuts that both Republicans and Democrats can support, and that reflect values all Americans support.

In the 12 years before I became President, irresponsible fiscal policies in Washington had piled deficit upon deficit and quadrupled the national debt. As a result, interest rates and unemployment were rising, wages were stagnant, and growth was slow. Vice President Gore and I came to office determined to change all that. With Congress' help, we put in place a new economic strategy of fiscal discipline, expanded trade, and investment in our people.

That strategy is working. It has produced lower interest rates, and ushered in the longest peacetime economic expansion in American history, with 19.4 million new jobs, rising wages, and record-breaking levels of home ownership. And it turned a federal deficit of \$290 billion in 1993 into a budget surplus of \$99 billion this year, with further surpluses predicted for years to come.

Now, our hard-won prosperity gives us something few generations have ever had: the opportunity to truly shape our future by meeting our long-term challenges. I believe we must maintain our fiscal discipline by using the bulk of our surpluses to pay down the national debt. We can make America debt free for the first time since 1835. That will produce lower interest rates, which in turn will mean lower mortgage payments, lower car payments, more business investment, more jobs, and greater economic growth in the 21st Century.

We must also meet the challenge of an aging America by strengthening Social Security and securing and modernizing Medicare. For almost 35 years, Medicare has eased the suffering and extended the lives of countless older and disabled Americans, while giving young families the peace of mind of knowing that they will not have to mortgage their children's' futures to pay for their parents' and grandparents' health care. With Americans

living longer, the number of Medicare beneficiaries is growing faster than the number of workers paying into the system. By the year 2015, the Medicare Trust Fund will be insolvent, just as the baby boom generation begins to retire and enter the system, eventually doubling the number of Americans who are over 65.

For 35 years, Medicare has brought. Unless we act now, in 16 years, the Medicare trust fund will be insolvent, just as the Baby Boom generation begins to retire. That is why I have proposed a plan to use a portion of the surplus to extend the life of the trust fund; and to modernize Medicare to keep costs in line, improve quality, and add a long-overdue voluntary prescription drug benefit.

We can meet these and other long-term obligations, continue to invest in vital areas like education, the environment, science, technology, and defense--and still have money left over for tax cuts to help us educate our children and prepare for the aging of America. In my balanced budget, I have proposed tax breaks to help communities build or repair 6000 schools nationwide, so that our children--the largest generation ever in the public schools--will no longer have to be taught in trailers or in classrooms that are falling apart, as too many are today. I have proposed tax breaks of \$1000[ck] a piece for families who shoulder the extra responsibility of caring for an aging parent or relative at home. And I have proposed tax credits for working families, in the form of universal savings accounts, or USA accounts, to help them invest and save for retirement.

But while I do favor tax cuts, I believe the current tax bill simply goes too far. It is too big, and too bloated. It would make it impossible to pay down the debt, strengthen Social Security, and secure and modernize Medicare. It would force drastic cuts in education, health care, and other priorities. It would put our nation's prosperity by abandoning fiscal discipline. And it would take America backwards.

So today, I will veto this tax bill, not just to keep us from sliding backwards, but also to move us forward. We can now move beyond bloated tax bills that everyone knows I won't sign. We can drop budget gimmicks that everyone knows I won't accept, like adding a 13th month to the fiscal year. Instead, we can get to the work the American people sent us here to do, and fashion a budget that meets the challenges of the 21st Century, and that Republicans and Democrats can support.

The majority in Congress has said that one of their highest tax cut priorities is ending the so-called marriage tax penalty. That is the quirk in the tax code in which two-earner married couples are taxed at a higher rate than they would have been had they filed separately. I believe, as do many Democrats, that the marriage tax penalty is simply not fair. In fact, I have supported bills in the past that addressed it. So today, I say to Congress: let us all, Republicans and Democrats, agree to end the marriage tax penalty as part of an overall budget solution. To pay for this additional tax break, I will put aside, for now, my own proposal for creating USA accounts to help working families save for retirement. I still think USA accounts are a great idea. But for now, I believe I have a larger responsibility: to make progress in a way that does not sacrifice fiscal discipline.

I call on Congress to do the same. Our current prosperity gives us a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to secure a brighter future. We must seize that opportunity. The Senate has agreed to debate measures to deal with the challenges of Medicare. I applaud that effort, and call on Congress to continue until your work is done. We cannot afford to let this moment pass. 75% of older Americans lack decent, dependable, private-sector coverage of prescription

drugs. That's three out of every four seniors. Three out of four Americans lack Pass a strong bill that secures Medicare and modernizes it with a prescription drug benefit. ANOTHER RIFF ON IMPORTANCE OF MEDICARE...IT WILL BE INSOLVENT IN 16 YEARS, PEOPLE HAVING HARDER AND HARDER TIME PAYING FOR PRESCRIPTION DRUGS.

WE CAN SECURE AND MODERNIZE MEDICARE AS PART OF A PACKAGE... Invest the surplus to pay down the debt. Pass an affordable tax cut plan that addresses the challenges of the future; that builds or repairs 6000 schools; that helps families care for aging relatives at home; and that ends the marriage tax penalty. These are goals Republicans and Democrats can agree on. We can be flexible on how we achieve them, and if you pass them, I will sign them. But I cannot and will not compromise the fiscal discipline that brought us to this moment of profound prosperity and opportunity.

In a message to Congress in 1952, President Harry Truman said: "The current strength of our economy is our starting point today. We must move forward to advance that strength." Forty-seven years later, those words ring remarkably true. And so today, with a strong America as a starting point, let us resolve to advance that strength into the 21st Century.

Thank-you, and God bless America.

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. draft | Talking Points for Business Roundtable. [with marginalia] (1 page) | 08/09/1999 | P5 |
| 002. draft | Talking Points for BusinessLINC Roundtable. [with marginalia] (2 pages) | 08/09/1999 | P5 |

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BusinessLINC Roundtable 8/10/99

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1309

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Draft 08/09/99 7:15pm
Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR BUSINESSLINC ROUNDTABLE
POWELL'S MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
WASHINGTON, DC
August 10, 1999

*Gore: Need to do more for VP
Gor started 2 yrs ago
when the VP met
saw good idea
partnered w/ Treas. +
GBA + I thought
it was a great
idea*

Acknowledgments: VP; Sec. Summers; Admin. Alvarez; Mayor Anthony Williams; Rep. Eleanor Holmes Norton; Dana Mead, President & CEO of Tenneco, and Chair of Business Roundtable; Peter Bijur [bee-jour], President & CEO of Texaco, who will chair BusinessLINC's National Coalition; Gene Sperling, for his hard work on this issue & my New Markets Initiative; Jack Lew; reps from the local BusinessLINC coalitions, & all the other business & community leaders here today

The American economy has come a long way in just 7 years. With all the business leaders around me at this table, I know I'm preaching to the choir when I say that. ~~It's almost hard to remember just what things were like when I ran for President in 1992. Deficits, inflation, and unemployment were high; growth was low; and people's faith in the future was being~~ seriously tested.

still places left behind

Today, the American economy is expanding as never before. Because our growth has been so strong and sustained, its benefits have flowed to millions of people once cut off from the economic mainstream. African-American and Hispanic unemployment are the lowest on record. Wages are rising. In the past six years, our rising tide has lifted more than a million children out of poverty.

Still, there are places in America, and neighborhoods like Marshall Heights, where opportunity remains too scarce. I saw some of these places last month, on my New Markets trip, when I traveled across America with business and national leaders.

But we have seen more than poverty; we have seen great promise. The success of businesses like Powell's Manufacturing Industries signals a brighter future not just for Marshall Heights, or Washington, D.C., but for inner cities and poor rural areas across America. On this factory floor, and in the paychecks and pride these workers bring home, we feel the power of private investment and of a strong public commitment to create jobs, attract capital, and expand opportunity.

That is the idea behind my New Markets Initiative – that government and business have to work together in a new way, as partners for progress. I am pleased that last week, [bipartisan] legislation based on my New Markets Initiative was introduced in both the House and Senate. This legislation builds on the approach that Vice President Gore and I have pioneered and pursued – from EZs to ECs, from a stronger CRA to CDFIs. This approach is working, and is the best way to expand our prosperity while making sure no one gets left behind.

*Gro
quicker
to
me V.N. in
mid 90s
if not
now,
when?
people
live in
backyard
- not just
but profi
Ongoing
structural
commit.*

Draft 08/09/99 3:30pm
Jeff Shesol

- announcement: BRT

Texaco guy

* POTUS 1st

- VP: 6 mints.

- CEO: expand mints.

VP can speak
afterward

- VP

- CEO

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR BUSINESSLINC ROUNDTABLE
POWELL'S MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
WASHINGTON, DC
August 10, 1999**

Acknowledgments: VP; Sec. Summers; Admin. Alvarez; Mayor Anthony Williams; Rep. Eleanor Holmes Norton; Dana Mead, President & CEO of Tenneco, and Chair of Business Roundtable; Peter Bijur [bee-jour], President & CEO of Texaco, who will chair BusinessLINC's National Coalition; Gene Sperling, for his hard work on this issue & my New Markets Initiative; Jack Lew; reps from the local BusinessLINC coalitions, & all the other business & community leaders here today

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Today, as the ~~Vice President~~ just said, the American economy is expanding as never before. Because our growth has been so strong and sustained, its benefits have flowed to millions of people once cut off from the economic mainstream. African-American and Hispanic unemployment are the lowest on record. Wages are rising. In the past six years, our rising tide has lifted more than a million children out of poverty.

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Govt
needs
to be
involved
but also
let go
(i.e.,
intern

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larger
context
of 2nd war
govt

more
BusinessLINC, which the Vice President launched last year, is an important, innovative element in our approach. I am pleased at the announcement that BusinessLINC will now be led by the Business Roundtable – since it's business that best understands the needs of business. That's the whole idea behind this initiative.

I am also pleased to announce that BusinessLINC is forming 6 new local coalitions – to help focus investment and create opportunity in communities like this one. Washington, DC, is starting one of these local chapters, to be co-chaired by David Rutstein, of Giant Food, and H. Patrick Swygert, President of Howard University. There will be chapters in the Mississippi Delta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, and New York. I want to add that Peter Bijur and the Business Roundtable have pledged to double the number of local coalitions by the end of this year.

VP

Working together in this fashion – government and industry, business and business – we can make the most of this moment of opportunity. We can make sure that the light of our prosperity illuminates every corner of America. Thank you.

~~I would now like to start the discussion by calling on Peter Bijur.~~

Hand over to VP

*VP: he's pleased to announce 1st formal
nat'l formation since new mltz. tour
- proof priv sector is responding to call
business is responding*

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. note | Handwritten. Penn. (2 pages) | 8/1999 | P5 |
| 002. draft | Talking Points for Gore 2000 Fundraiser. Final 4:30pm. (2 pages) | 08/05/1999 | P5 |
| 003. draft | Talking Points for Gore 2000 Fundraiser. 12:45pm. (2 pages) | 08/05/1999 | P5 |
| 004. draft | Talking Points for Gore 2000 Fundraiser. 12:30pm. (2 pages) | 08/05/1999 | P5 |
| 005. draft | Talking Points for Gore 2000 Fundraiser. 12:30pm. [with marginalia] (2 pages) | 08/05/1999 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 19946

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FOLDER TITLE:

Gore 2000 Event 8/7/99

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1310

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Penn:

Not a pol sp about issues but a Gore testimonial

Highlight Gore's

1) participation in 3 or 4 key moments

- econ plan

- env.

- foreign policy (Russia)

- gunns (vote)

~~well-ref. (?)~~; EVs, emp.

→ strengthening families

summary - out there, looking to future (what this admin. is building on progress to move Am fwd)

→ kind of Pres he wd be in future

straight fwd, low-key, testimonial event

Gore's big agenda

Chad Clinton? 763-6143

highlight a few key successes

VP's leadership on those key issues

Stacie

- foundation that

- visionary future; broad + spec.

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Ali

1) - fwd-looking^{at end}: challenges next President will face will be diff — moving into info age; innovation-based econ. — no one under stands better than Al Gore; ed.

- he's the guy for the kind of future

2) give sense "This is a guy who was qual. to be P long before I picked him to be VP." —

(VP will talk about how to move fwd)

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Final 08/05/99 4:30pm
Jeff Shesol

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR GORE 2000 FUNDRAISER
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
August 7, 1999**

Acknowledgments TK

America has come a long way since Al Gore and I ran for office 7 years ago. It is easy to forget what things were like back then. As the Vice President used to say out on the campaign trail, what should be up was down, and what should be down was up. Irresponsible policies were piling deficits upon deficits, and quadrupled the debt in the previous 12 years. Inflation and unemployment were high, and people's faith in the future was being tested.

Because of the policies we have pursued and the hard work of the American people, America has made a seismic shift. We are now in the longest peacetime expansion in history. Our economy has created nearly 19 million new jobs. Inflation and unemployment are at record lows. We have balanced the budget, creating a record surplus that gives us the chance of a lifetime to save Social Security, strengthen and modernize Medicare, and pay down the debt.

Vice President Gore has been vital to our success. He has played a key and constructive role in more areas than I can say in one speech. But let me highlight a few areas where his leadership is and has been especially important.

He is working to strengthen our economy. The VP helped set our remarkable recovery in motion by casting the deciding vote for our economic plan in 1993. He has helped shape every budget, and works especially hard to empower families and communities to make the most of their lives. The plans he has outlined will keep our expansion going and extend it to every corner of our nation.

He is working to strengthen American families. The VP has been a leader in protecting our environment – making it safer and cleaner for future generations. And he has been working to keep our streets safe and to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children. The deciding vote he recently cast on this issue isn't the only time he has stepped to the frontlines of our fight against crime. Just recently he set out an innovative 21st Century agenda on crime.

And he is working to strengthen America's role in the world – shaping our relations with a new and democratic Russia, and a new and democratic South Africa. These relations will only become more important in the new century.

No Vice President in history has had this much responsibility or made more of this office on behalf of America. That's no surprise to me. Al Gore didn't need any on-the-job

training. He was qualified to be President long before I asked him to be Vice President, and had long been a leader for a strong national defense, for small business, and for the American family.

The challenges the next President will face will be different than those I have faced. We are moving into an Information Age. . . a knowledge-based economy. . . in a post-Cold War world. No one understands these new challenges better than Al Gore. His experience is vast; his ideas are innovative; and his vision for America's future, for building on our progress, is clear.

It is my honor to introduce my friend and partner, Vice President Al Gore.

Draft 08/05/99 12:45pm
Jeff Shesol

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August 7, 1999**

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is working
He ~~has worked~~ to strengthen our economy. The VP helped set our remarkable recovery in motion by casting the deciding vote for our economic plan in 1993. He has helped shape every budget, and works especially hard to empower families and communities to make the most of their lives. *The plans he has outlined will keep our expansion going + extend it to every corner of the nation*

is working
He ~~has worked~~ to strengthen American families. He has been a leader in protecting our environment – making it safer and cleaner for future generations. And he has been working to keep our streets safe and to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children. The deciding vote he recently cast on this issue isn't the only time he has stepped to the frontlines of our fight against crime. *Just recently he set out his 21st c. agenda on crime.*

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And he ~~has worked~~ to strengthen America's role in the world – shaping our relations with a new and democratic Russia, and a new and democratic South Africa. *Those rels. will only become more important*

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Draft 08/05/99 12:30pm
Jeff Shesol

4:30 call
Business line
7-2104 code 3900

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR GORE 2000 FUNDRAISER
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
August 7, 1999**

Acknowledgments

America has come a long way since Al Gore and I ran for the Presidency ^{office} ~~the Presidency~~ ⁵ ~~7~~ years ago. It is becoming easy to forget what things were like back then. Inflation and unemployment were high. Deficits were being piled upon deficits, and the debt had quadrupled in the previous 12 years. People's faith in the future was being seriously tested.

Today, we are in the longest peacetime expansion in history – thanks to the policies we have pursued and the hard work of the American people. Our economy has created nearly 19 million new jobs. Inflation and unemployment are at record lows. We have balanced the budget, creating a record surplus that gives us the chance of a lifetime to save Social Security, strengthen & modernize Medicare, and pay down the debt.

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He has worked to strengthen America's leadership in the world – shaping our relations with a new, democratic Russia. + *South Africa, in the Middle East (?)*

He has worked to protect our environment – making it safer and cleaner for future generations.

And he has worked to keep our streets safe and to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children. The deciding vote he recently cast on this issue isn't the only time he has stepped to the frontlines of our fight against crime.

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He has worked to protect our environment – making it safer and cleaner for future generations.

↑
And he has worked to keep our streets safe and to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children. The deciding vote he recently cast on this issue isn't the only time he has stepped to the frontlines of our fight against crime.

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Finley
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|
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| | | | |
|------------|--|------------|----|
| 001. draft | Remarks on the Economy. Final 10:15am. [with marginalia] (8 pages) | 07/20/1999 | P5 |
|------------|--|------------|----|

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Jeff Shesol
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FOLDER TITLE:

Press Conf. Tax Cuts Topper 7/21/99 - Opening Statement - Tax Cuts Press Conference
7/21/99

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1311

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Final 07/20/99 10:15am

Jeff Shesol

*Penn + Greene
edit*

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS ON THE ECONOMY

THE WHITE HOUSE

July 21, 1999

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Good afternoon. Today, as a nation, we face a fundamental choice of how best to move forward into the 21st Century. I want to talk to you briefly about that choice; and then I'll take your questions.

When we look toward the future, it's always helpful, I think, to remember where we started. Six years ago, if ^{let's look at} someone had predicted we would turn a budget deficit of ^{where we were} \$290 billion and rising into a surplus of \$99 billion and rising, well, I think that would've been pretty quickly ^{def; we} dismissed. Since then, our nation has made a seismic ^{Nobody thought we'd turn it around} shift: from recession to recovery, from a crisis of confidence to a renewal of resolve, from economic disorder to a fiscal house finally in order.

Now, as we debate what to do with our great prosperity, we face a critical choice: whether to move forward with the fiscal discipline that got us here, or return to the kind of risk-taking that got us recessions and deficits. We must decide whether to invest the surplus to strengthen America in the long term, or to squander it in the short term. I think the right course is clear. And a bigger surplus only means that the mistake would be bigger, and the missed opportunity that much greater, if we take the wrong course.

I have proposed a balanced budget that puts first things first. I believe we must maintain our sound economic strategy and invest the surplus in our long-term goals: saving Social Security, strengthening Medicare, and modernizing it by providing a long-overdue prescription drug benefit.

soundbite:
→ Anyone who thinks that prescription drug is not out of date, out of touch, out of ideas.

Greul
bad: 95% - 3 out of every 4 - seniors lack solid, decent private sector coverage of prescription drugs.

Tomorrow, I will release a report that shows a great and growing need for prescription drug coverage. [The number of firms offering health coverage to retirees is down by one fourth in the last 4 years.] This is why we need optional prescription coverage – not just for some Medicare recipients, but for all of them. And not just for lower-income beneficiaries, but for the millions of elderly, uninsured members of the middle class.

④
we need a plan that's simple, universal, voluntary

As I've described, my plan meets these national priorities – while paying off the debt by 2015, while investing in America's new markets, while providing substantial tax relief. I have targeted \$250 billion in tax cuts to help families save for retirement, and other cuts to help pay for child care and long-term care.

So let's be clear about something. We're not debating whether to have tax cuts. We should have tax cuts – but tax cuts that save Social Security and Medicare, not undermine them. Tax cuts we can afford, not ones that would demand drastic cuts in defense, education, agriculture, and the environment. Tax cuts that advance our prosperity, not imperil it.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

These are exactly the risks posed by the Republican tax plan, a plan the House is about to vote on. Let me tell you what their plan would do: It would pile up \$3 trillion in debt right when the Baby Boomers start to retire, right when Social Security and Medicare feel the crunch. And let me tell you what their tax plan doesn't do: it doesn't do a thing to extend the solvency of Social Security and Medicare. Not by a single day.

So let's be clear about one more thing. If we don't save Social Security, it's not because we couldn't do it. If ~~we don't~~ ^{we don't strengthen med., +} add a prescription drug benefit to Medicare, it's not because we couldn't afford it. If we don't meet these needs, it will be because we chose not to meet them.

It will be because we chose instead to reward ourselves today by risking tomorrow.

I hope the Congress will make the right choice.

When members cast their ballots on the Republican tax plan, they're really voting whether to have this tax plan, or to save Social Security and Medicare. Whether to have this tax plan, or to pay off the national debt. Whether to have this tax plan, or to meet our most pressing national priorities in education, in defense, in nearly every domain that makes a difference in people's lives. I think the

choice is clear. *so let's work together to have... + have the rt.* If Congress ~~makes the wrong choice~~, and *pass the wrong kind of tax cut,* ^{*tax cuts*}

^{*nothing*} sends this plan to me, I will not sign it. I will not allow it to become law.

strengthen first

I am willing, as I have always said, to work with any
member of either party to put first things first. So let's do
the right thing for the long term. Let's rise above
partisanship when our prosperity is at stake. Let's make
the most of this moment, and make this truly a season of
progress. Thank you.

*(P) strengthen soc sec
+ med.
first,
then
we can

rather
than
stretch*

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. email | Joshua Gottheimer to Jeff Shesol at 12:07pm. Subject: RE: Final Draft--China/Hi-tech. (1 page) | 03/01/2000 | P5 |
| 002. note | Handwritten. Gene & Lael. (1 page) | 03/2000 | P5 |

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OA/Box Number: 19947

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FOLDER TITLE:

China PNTR [Permanent Normal Trade Relations] Hi-Tech - UUNET 3/1/00 - China
and High Tech Trade 3/1/00

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1312

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]



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 Joshua S. Gottheimer
03/01/2000 12:07:26 PM 

Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: RE: final draft -- China/hi-tech

----- Forwarded by Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP on 03/01/2000 12:07 PM -----



markpenn@ps-b.com (markpenn)
03/01/2000 12:11:14 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: RE: final draft -- China/hi-tech

In last night's polling, mosrt people reject that China's WTO entry will create new jobs.

They accept that 1) forcing China to follow the normal trading rules will help bring more freedom to its people 2) that China is a huge market and opening up this market to us will bring great benefits to the U.S. economy.

Other arguments that worked include the more we trade with them the more we will be able to influence issues like Taiwan, and if we fail to expand trade with China, other countries will.

I know it is probably too late to change anything, but we just polled last night -- what I would change is the paragraph just before he says "that's why I support...." Suggested changes will follow in the next email.

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Joshua_S_Gottheimer@who.eop.gov

> [mailto:Joshua_S_Gottheimer@who.eop.gov]

> Sent: Wednesday, March 01, 2000 11:32 AM

> To: markpenn@ps-b.com; jleveton@ps-b.com

> Subject: final draft -- China/hi-tech

>

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Glenn & Noel
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6: Want headline:

"Camps Hoped will gain entry"

- Brush in other things pretty quickly

1) extending Penn - quick reprise

ind. ^{extended} ^{Not} get it. I have always f-in get it.
Not just great for Silicon Valley but for the world.
- ITA agreement shows early commitment

2) things won for in - tech ind.
China will be buying up tech

be mercantile
huge mist - crazy to not take this
or to let other countries take our lead
- least likely covered by '99 agreement
may. ? is China + other dev countries
they start intra. from scratch
are we going to lead the way?

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. email | Eric Liu to Jeff Shesol at 8:16pm. Subject: Re: Revised draft remarks on New Opportunity Agenda... (1 page) | 01/10/2000 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

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Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 19947

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FOLDER TITLE:

New Opportunity EITC [Earned Income Tax Credit] - DLC [Democratic Leadership Council] 1/12/00 - New Opportunity Speech EITC Rollout 1/12/00 [1]

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1313

RESTRICTION CODES

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Eric P. Liu
01/10/2000 08:16:20 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP@EOP, Anna Richter/OPD/EOP@EOP
Subject: Re: revised draft remarks on New Opportunity Agenda/ EITC -- comments to Jeff Shesol by noon Tuesday

Jeff -- It's always fun to read your stuff -- I sometimes think our brains were separated at birth! (which would explain why I feel like a half-wit so often). Anyway, a few scattered thoughts, which I'll supplement tomorrow.

1. I'd run even more with what Bruce suggested at that mtg in Loretta's office -- framing this philosophically in terms of a new social contract for working families. ~~As Bruce says, we can't say "work" enough times in this speech (and we should certainly say it more than we say "EITC").~~ The message of our new Opportunity Agenda -- like the message of the DLC, and of so much of what we've done in this Adm -- is that if you go to work, good things happen. And it should be the govt's job to encourage those good things, to set in motion the virtuous cycle of work and responsibility. ~~And that's what our initiatives on child care, and health care and EITC are about.~~ They are not (merely) freestanding good policy ideas collected under what you know well is a fungible label of "opportunity agenda".

2. So, ~~as to describing the EITC itself,~~ I would characterize it as not only a \$20 billion tax cut but as fulfillment of that social contract -- part of a "deal." If you go out and earn income, and struggle to get your family into a better bracket, you will be rewarded for it. In fact, I might play self-consciously off the wonky-sounding nature of the EITC. ~~POTUS today in the budget mtg complained that we don't get enough credit for this partly because the name of the policy is so inelegant. Maybe you can play with that -- "Now, this tax credit is on every policy nerd's Top Ten list of acronyms. But it's not just an acronym. The E in the EITC is about earning -- about taking responsibility, and about getting credit for it."~~

3. Also, in today's budget mtg, Summers told POTUS of a David Ellwood study that shows we are not ~~doing something like 10 times more for the working poor~~ -- in great measure thru measures like EITC expansion -- ~~than the fed govt did in 1985.~~ Treasury can presumably get you that factoid, which POTUS liked.

4. Finally, ~~in the grafs that describe the EITC,~~ I might tell a story of what this means for a working mom or dad. (I believe we're finding a good "real person" for this) or at least put the consequences and applications of this proposal in more human, kitchen-table terms.

Hope that's all somewhat helpful.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. email | Personal. [partial] (1 page) | 12/17/1999 | P6/b(6) |
| 002. email | Maureen Shea to Jeff Shesol at 4:11pm. Subject: Re: Draft of Radio Address on Religious Guidelines. (2 pages) | 12/17/1999 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 19947

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Radio Address Religious Guidelines 12/18/99 [1]

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1315

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]



Maureen T. Shea

12/17/99 04:11:51 PM



Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: draft radio address on religious guidelines -- comments to Jeff Shesol ASAP 6-2796 

It looks good - why don't you call me after you see my ALL CAPS comments: X62721

Draft 12/17/99 3:00pm

Jeff Shesol

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
RADIO ADDRESS ON RELIGIOUS GUIDELINES
THE WHITE HOUSE
December 18, 1999**

Good morning. The holiday season is a time when America's remarkable religious diversity shines brightest - everywhere from our homes, to our places of worship, to our schools. Today I want to talk to you about the role of faith in our lives and, particularly, in the education of our children. (THIS IS A BIT DELICATE - BUT BECAUSE THIS IS NOT THE HOLIDAY SEASON FOR OUR INCREASINGLY RELIGIOUSLY PLURALISTIC SOCIETY YOU MAY WANT TO REPHRASE THIS OR QUICKLY TALK ABOUT REL. DIVERSITY)

America's founders were men and women of faith - many of whom fled oppression overseas to find religious freedom on our shores. They believed that the best way to protect religious liberty was to guarantee, first, the right of all to believe and practice religion by the dictates of their own conscience; and, second, to forbid our government from imposing or establishing any particular set of beliefs. In their wisdom, they enshrined these two principles in our Constitution.

But reconciling these two principles has not always been easy, especially when it comes to our education system. Finding a place for faith - and faith-based organizations - in our schools is a complex and emotional matter for many Americans. But I have never believed that the Constitution requires that our schools be religion-free zones, or that children check their faiths at the schoolhouse door.

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Americans expect our public schools to teach our children the knowledge and skills they need to succeed in life. We also trust our schools to strengthen the moral foundation of our society – to reinforce the values taught at home and in our communities. Studies show us that children involved in religious activities are less likely to use drugs; common sense tells us they are more likely to stay out of trouble and reach their fullest potential.

That is why I have always supported students' right to voluntarily practice their religious beliefs, including prayer in school, and to pursue religious activities on school grounds. Four and a half years ago, our administration released a set of religious guidelines for America's public schools. We did so in response to parents and educators, who asked for help in knowing what kinds of religious activity are permissible in public schools; and in respecting the rights and beliefs of all students, from the most observant to those who choose to abstain from any kind of religious activity.

(IS IT HOKEY TO SAY SOMETHING LIKE I AM ALWAYS SADDENED BY THOSE WHO SAY THERE IS NO PRAYER IN SCHOOLS BECAUSE...

Here, simply put, is what those guidelines say: students have the right to pray privately and individually in school. They have the right to say grace at lunchtime. They have the right to meet in religious groups on school grounds and to use school facilities, just like any other club. They have the right to read the Bible or any other religious text during study hall or free class time. They also have the right to be free from coercion to participate in any kind of religious activity at school.

Since we first issued these guidelines, appropriate religious activity has flourished in our schools. But the role of religion in our lives is always changing, always evolving, and we must make sure that our guidelines reflect that.

Today I am announcing the release of revised religious guidelines, to be sent directly to every public school in America. They will also be sent to key faith-based organizations, reflecting their growing role in our national life. Across America, schools and faith-based organizations are telling us that they want to work together – to expand opportunities to learn, to lift children's lives. They are forging new and effective partnerships – like the National Jewish Coalition for Literacy, which is recruiting 100,000 tutors for the America Reads Challenge, and the Shiloh Baptist-Seaton Elementary School partnership, which offers after-school activities in Washington, DC. (IT WOULD NOT BE GREAT TO MENTION A JEWISH ORGANIZATION AND NOT A MUSLIM – WHICH IS NOT TO SAY THERE IS A MUSLIM ONE BUT THERE PROBABLY IS – THIS IS RAMADAN, ISLAM'S HOLIEST MONTH – AND I WON'T BORE YOU WITH THE MANY SENSITIVIES AMONG MUSLIM AMERICANS RIGHT NOW – MAYBE YOU COULD MENTION THE LARGE NUMBER OF FAITH BASED GROUPS INVOLVED IN AMERICA READS) Our new guidelines will help these groups – and others like them – find the ways they can work

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

together on common ground, toward common goals.

A broad consensus – not just among educators and religious leaders, but also among First Amendment groups – has been crucial to our efforts. Their voices echo the words of George Washington, who said that Americans have “abundant reason to rejoice that in this land, every person may worship God according to the dictates of his own heart.” (SHOULD YOU PUT IN ONE MORE PLUG FOR SCHOOLS)Today, as we count the days to the 21st Century, we know that this liberty – this fundamental and precious liberty – is still strong. We are determined that it remain so – not just for our own children, but for the generations to come. Thanks for listening.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. draft | Remarks on Congressional Gold Medal for Former President Gerald Ford and Mrs. Betty Ford. (7 pages) | 10/27/1999 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 19947

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Gerald Ford - Congressional Gold Medal 10/27/1999

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1316

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Final 10/27/99 11:45am

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-27-99

 Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON CONGRESSIONAL GOLD MEDAL
FOR FORMER PRESIDENT GERALD FORD AND
MRS. BETTY FORD

THE U.S. CAPITOL ROTUNDA
WASHINGTON, DC

*Copied
Speechwriting*

October 27, 1999

10-27-99

4

2

(7)

Acknowledgments: Sens. Abraham, Daschle, Lott,
Thurmond; Speaker Hastert; Reps. Armey, Ehlers,
Gephardt; Gov. Engler; House Chaplain James Ford &
 Sen. Chaplain Lloyd Ogilvie; other members of Congress;
 friends and members of the Ford family

Ally
~~Ally~~

Bob Mueller
Dales
Cory

This has been a warm and wonderful tribute. Before
 I add a few words of my own, I want to pause for a
 minute to remember a man who shared so many of the
 qualities we have heard described today: Senator John
 Chafee. ~~When the Senate lost John Chafee, it lost far~~
~~more than a member. It lost a bipartisan leader; and~~
~~America lost a voice of conscience and kindness and~~
 courage.

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In 23 years of service, Senator Chafee stood firmly in the decent center of American politics, steadfastly putting progress — and his concern for our people — above partisanship. I will miss him. I know his colleagues will miss him. And I know Rhode Island and the rest of the America will miss him as well.

Just two months ago, I had the honor of welcoming both President and Mrs. Ford back to the White House — to award Gerald Ford the Presidential Medal of Freedom. It is fitting that, today, we can say that both the White House and the Congress have bestowed their highest awards upon President Ford, since he served both institutions nobly ^{So} ~~and with distinction.~~

10-27-99

The words of praise you have heard today flow freely from both sides of the aisle – ~~just as they did when~~ ~~President Ford was Congressman Ford.~~ That is due in no small part to the work ^{PF} ~~he~~ ^{as CF} did here, in these hallowed halls, for a full quarter-century on a wide range of issues – from the budget to the national defense. On the House floor Gerald Ford was a forceful debater. In the caucus room he was a loyal party leader. But in the cloakroom, and the committee room, he knew when to put politics aside for the sake of our people.

Gerald Ford ^{was} ~~had long been~~ destined for leadership – as a student, as an athlete, as a soldier in ~~the Second~~ ~~World War.~~ Others have spoken of the strengths he showed in all three arenas.

City life before

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

10-27-99

They help^s to explain the confidence and calm he carried into the Oval Office, and conveyed to our people ~~during a time of political conflict and public consternation.~~

~~The office he assumed, the office I am privileged to~~
hold, ~~is not one that~~ Gerald Ford ever sought, ^{but} Neither did ~~he~~ shrink from ~~it~~. ^{turning} As President, Gerald Ford steered our nation through ~~the~~ stormy seas ~~of Watergate~~. His ~~presidency ended that crisis, and also brought~~ ^{to} new, brighter beginnings: for human rights, for the reduction of nuclear arms, for America's role in the world. The issues that occupied him then are very much on his agenda today – whether he is advising his successors in the Oval Office, or defending affirmative action, or making the case for free trade. I am immensely grateful for all his wise counsel.

~~Through Watergate and war and peace,~~ Betty Ford

~~stood proudly and bravely by her husband's side.~~ She

PF
helped ~~him~~ shoulder his responsibilities while making the

most of her own. As First Lady, Betty Ford used her

position as a force – in its own right – for the public good.

Barack
^

And in the years since, by facing her personal challenges

with public candor, she has helped millions to meet their

own with similar strength, dignity, and resolve. Mrs.

Ford, I know I speak for Hillary and for all Americans

when I express my profound appreciation for all you have

given us
~~achieved.~~

9/19/93
→ OFFICE Plan
→ OFFICE THANKS

On July 4, 1976 – on the bicentennial of our nation's birth – President Ford stood in Valley Forge State Park and spoke these words. He said: "A nation survives only so long as the spirit of sacrifice and self-discipline is strong within its people." We know the same spirit is strong within Gerald and Betty Ford. They represent what is best in our nation; and they richly deserve the Congressional Gold Medal we bestow today. Thank you.

[You now invite Sen. Thurmond and Speaker Hastert to join you at the podium, where the three of you will present the medal to President and Mrs. Ford.]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. note | Handwritten. Commencement Meeting. (4 pages) | 06/05/2000 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21461

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Carleton [College] Commencement 6/10/00

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1317

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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COMMENCEMENT
MTC. - 2:00 pm

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6-5.

1) OR, CO, AZ, WA — monuments
1/2 split?

2) Climate report

~~David Beier / Karen have copy~~

Independent review under auspices of fed govt
most comp. assessment ever of impact on us
on mon. sci. team will be releasing rept...

* Rept is great platform for hitting congress
- rept shows what happens if we fail to act

JDP: come out + say we'll veto riders (?)
This wd be the news

3) Calling for an intl conference? (unlikely)

4) Directing Peace Corps to start new env. prot. branch

5) Global satellite images (rainforests)

- can track illegal logging; forest fires
- tech solns

"long look ahead" — TR talked in terms of
protection / preservation
— new challenge, one c. later,
— is to be proactive...

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Energy

Karen: can't really do this issue w/o energy,
immediate pocketbook issues

Broaden choice we pose

Don't discuss price of gas; but do consider
short-term issues

maybe bracket this section — debate how
"hot" we get

Elliot — things we do to ↓ climate change
also get us cleaner, renewable energy

Karen — show that we have short-term solns,
too

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

new social contract ^{for} working people Americans

1) paid leave / ³⁾fatherhood / ²⁾CHAP expansion (3)

- transition from 30-yr. jobs
- role of govt - safety nets

- SATC / socia / New emp. address
- min wage?
- well to work

would be govt

- accessibility
- affordability
- quality of health care
- ready, in demand
- we want to get this done

Time Fund

CLINTON THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Deliverables

▷ Climate change rpt - local impact
- but who announces?

▷ Monuments

▷ hitting congress on environ. appropri-
- esp climate change, renewable energy, efficiency, cars
one other hand...

30 House pushing for lands legacy
- good for everyone

Sen. is considering it

Could do sp. just as make-up call
on climate change (game)
(see 4. Michigan Commencement)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|

| | | | |
|-----------|--|------------|----|
| 001. note | Handwritten. [China PNTR Meetings] (4 pages) | 05/23/2000 | P5 |
|-----------|--|------------|----|

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21461.

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FOLDER TITLE:

China PNTR [Permanent Normal Trade Relations] House Vote 5/24/00

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1318

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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Daley's
download

9/23

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Important step

Sen. gets pissed; China cd get reckless
- Sen. is going to deal w/ this soon

Praise:

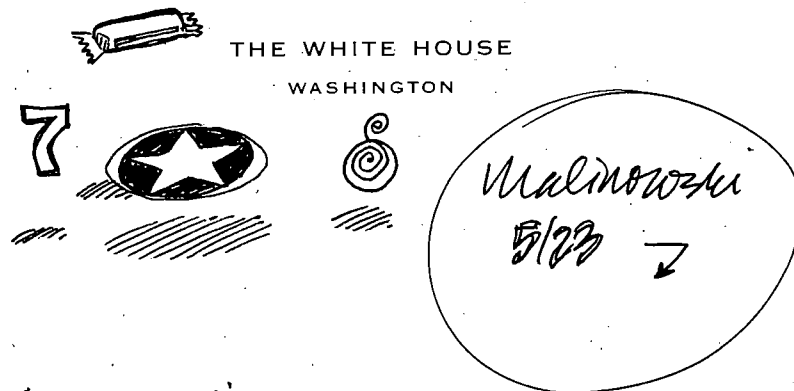
spacing.

- no admin. people
- Frank Levin + Berente
- Hastert; Archer; Rangel
(ways + means)

Same msg.

trade is big part of prosperity
need to keep going

Not too much of a victory lap



State manlike

look forward

1) Trade is not enough

(we don't think for a moment that this is so)

- pressure

- Taiwan / dialogue

- human rights

- working w/ congressional issues

big boost to a long-term effort

PNTR must = perm. commit to change
in China

2) holistic approach

see Thomas Friedman

Anxiety out there - not wholly misplaced -
about globaliz. / impact on people

- human face

Recognize + address it

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MBC:

sincerity
deep personal beliefs of opponents
jump up Sen.
- moving it ahead - want to
get ~~it~~ done

GS: today, congress took
historic, ~~new~~ step toward
cont'd prosperity in Am,
reform in Ch,
peace in world.

{ making econ
freedom + open. in China
more peaceful world for our
child

~~Talked to Lott + Daschle~~
Now eyes of world turn toward
Sen. (which I'm confident will
move swiftly
to secure these vital interests.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The merits

Direr?

prescription
min wage
guns
ed
tax credit

NAFTA + GATT

— From trade opening agreements
I fought for in '93 + '94

to the one I signed
just last week

— not "urge" live not w/ Sen on this
I'm going to ^{appeal} consult w/ the Sen. ^{again} it's
away to
working under leadership
both + no minhan
to get passed by full Sen. soon.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|

| | | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|------------|----|
| 001. note | Handwritten. Dem. Values. (1 page) | 05/18/2000 | P5 |
|-----------|------------------------------------|------------|----|

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21461

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

China PNTR [Permanent Normal Trade Relations] - Oval Address (undelivered) 5/21/00

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1319

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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dem. values +
econ. benefit are 1-2-3 priorities
bipartisanship

Penn 9/18
4:30pm

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Trade/
Values

- 1) If you want to promote trd, have to have PNTR
- 2) huge mult. - ought to be open to Amer.
- 3) Then deal w/ opponents - credit their args.
 - not good record
 - env. + labor std.

tegit. reason. people can disagree...

concern: backfire → calls to GOP

- A) heavy element of bipartisanship
 - former Ps
 - G'span

best for us, dem., econ.

- 9) key to future - prosperity
opening new mkt.
and this is the last one in America

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. email | Joshua Gottheimer to Jeff Shesol at 9:52am. Subject: Re: SAFE Colorado Event Speaking Program. (3 pages) | 04/11/2000 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21461

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

SAFE Rally Denver 4/12/00

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1321

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Joshua S. Gottheimer
04/11/2000 09:52:41 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: Re: SAFE Colorado Event Speaking Program

----- Forwarded by Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP on 04/11/2000 09:52 AM -----

Eric P. Liu
04/11/2000 09:51:48 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Jennifer M. Palmieri/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
bcc:
Subject: Re: SAFE Colorado Event Speaking Program

agreed

Jennifer M. Palmieri

Jennifer M. Palmieri
04/11/2000 09:45:09 AM

Record Type: Record

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

To: Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
bcc:
Subject: Re: SAFE Colorado Event Speaking Program


I understand that Salazar has been a key (if not original) supporter of the statewide initiative and a logical choice for the program. The problem is that we are under heavy criticism in the state and local press for politicizing Columbine. The Press Office view is that if we add another elected, particularly a D, that will exacerbate this perception.

Karen Tramontano

Karen Tramontano

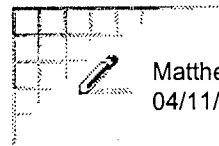
04/11/2000
09:27:05 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Matthew L. Bennett/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
bcc:
Subject: Re: SAFE Colorado Event Speaking Program 


i don't know the details here -- but is there a problem asking that he be included in the program?

Matthew L. Bennett



Matthew L. Bennett
04/11/2000 09:02:41 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Karin Kullman/OPD/EOP@EOP
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
bcc:
Subject: Re: SAFE Colorado Event Speaking Program 

Just to emphasize the point -- IGA believes it's CRUCIAL that AG Salazar be on the program. This is a statewide initiative, and he was one of the two co-sponsors (along with the Gov) of the identical measure in the legislature. He is the chief law enforcement officer, he is Hispanic, and he is very important to this White House. Without him, the only elected on the program is a mayor (to discuss a statewide initiative).

MLB

Karin Kullman



Karin Kullman

04/10/2000 09:12:06 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc:
Subject: SAFE Colorado Event Speaking Program

Re: diversity issue. One of the SAFE Colorado board members is a woman who is a former Colorado Secretary of State (also an R). If it's weird to only have 1 board member on stage, there is also a former State AG (but it's a D, male) who could also sit on stage. I asked SAFE to brainstorm overnight about any other options for an appropriate woman to be a stage participant.

----- Forwarded by Karin Kullman/OPD/EOP on 04/10/2000 09:10 PM -----



Karin Kullman

04/10/2000 09:05:46 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc:
Subject: SAFE Colorado Event Speaking Program

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~~Here is the latest word from SAFE Colorado regarding the speaking program. Their most recent proposal is (not necessarily in this order):~~

~~Mayor Wellington Webb (SAFE has already invited him to speak, and he has accepted)~~
~~John Head, Co-President, SAFE Colorado (R)~~
~~Arnie Grossman, Co-President, SAFE Colorado (D)~~
~~Tom Mauser, Political Director, SAFE Colorado and parent of Columbine shooting victim~~
~~POTUS~~

Others on the stage would include:

~~Former Governor Richard Lamm~~
~~Former Governor John Love~~
~~Colorado Attorney General Ken Salazar~~
~~Mike Barnes, President, Handgun Control, Inc.~~

Listed below are some outstanding issues that I could use some guidance on. **PLEASE NOTE: The crowd for this event will be STANDING for the length of the event, and will likely have been standing for 1-2 hours before the program starts.** Therefore, even more than usual, it is in everyone's interest to keep the program as short as possible.

- **Republican Elected Official:** Both SAFE Colorado and White House IGA have exhausted their options and have been unsuccessful in securing a Republican Colorado legislator to speak on the program. The only other R option is former Colorado Governor John Love, who will be attending the event. (Gov. Love is older and needs to use a walker. He will be personally escorted to the event by Gov. Lamm.)
- **Salazar:** ~~The current speaking program leaves AG Salazar off of the program.~~ He was heavily involved with the Governor's decision to submit gun control legislation to the CO legislature, and I know that IGA was very interested in having him speak.
- **Diversity:** The current program has 4 white males and 1 African-American male. Salazar is Hispanic and will be sitting on the stage. **There are no women on the stage.** (I am inquiring whether there are any women in SAFE leadership that could sit on the stage.)

Message Sent To:

Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP@EOP
Eric P. Liu/OPD/EOP@EOP
Anna Richter/OPD/EOP@EOP
Deanne E. Benos/OPD/EOP@EOP
Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OPD/EOP@EOP
Stephanie A. Cutter/WHO/EOP@EOP
Loretta M. Ucelli/WHO/EOP@EOP
Jennifer M. Palmieri/WHO/EOP@EOP
Richard L. Siewert/WHO/EOP@EOP
Elizabeth R. Newman/WHO/EOP@EOP
Sonya N. Hebert/WHO/EOP@EOP
Matthew L. Bennett/WHO/EOP@EOP
Rachel A. Redington/WHO/EOP@EOP
Marty J. Hoffmann/WHO/EOP@EOP
Kirk T. Hanlin/WHO/EOP@EOP
Julia M. Payne/WHO/EOP@EOP
Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP
Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP@EOP
Stephen S. Lamb/WHO/EOP@EOP

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|

| | | | |
|-----------|--|------------|----|
| 001. note | Handwritten. [Notes for Debt Reduction Speech] (6 pages) | 12/27/2000 | P5 |
|-----------|--|------------|----|

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Debt Reduction 12/28/00

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1322

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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SN - Bailey - low - spelling

12/27/00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Gene:

→ Dorton
Rob Nabors(?)
OMB

1:45
1:30
conf call
7-2104
code 3939

we really can't do that ("pay down by 2009")

2009 comes from us not putting any
new progs in - ~~no~~ tx cuts, no
prescription drugs, etc.
- a budget w/ no new initiatives

Just be transparent (?)

Don't say "last yr. we had an opp.
to pay down by 2012...
Now, even w/ what we've
done on ABC, we can
pay down by 2009."

have two #s

even though we have most hist.
invest in ed., if all the surplus
were devoted to debt ↓, we
cd pay off by 2009;

more important, if we have balanced
- saved med surplus approach
- mod tx cuts, etc.
we cd still pay off by 2011

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

"It's a fuckin' lie."

Debt-free by 2009

Fiscal discipline got us
here — but how far to
lean?

— strength of the econ.

Dorton

CONF. CALL 1:45
pm

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jake: no direct comparison w/ our projections?
snapshot of how we're leaving

~~Barack~~ ^{Barack}: ↳ substantially more spending on
Medicare/Medicaid, new units,
etc.

Gene: foreshadowing of Clinton's

⊛ "C. says Am. cd. still pay off debt w/in
decade if fiscally prudent"

2 #s?
- if

if you spent it all

2012 has been our benchmark

2011 is "w/in a decade" so...

w/ a prudent plan (ie., ours), you
cd still pay it off w/in decade

- don't lay out policies (tx cuts,
prescription
drugs, etc.)

⊛ Jan. Medicare off-budget

took him in like crazy

- if all surplus went to debt ↓

+ we had a prudent plan, here's what
we cd do

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jack:

- * 2009 vs. 2010
(baseline to baseline)
but w/ policies changed in the middle
- apples to oranges

Gene: put out new baseline
so you can't compare 2009 to 2012
(non-base)

3 potential headlines

i) 2009

ii) "man on moon" ... end of decade

- * even making room for mod. tx cuts,
solid ↑ in ^{key} ^{priority}
hc expand
prescription drug
we cd still pay lower debt by (2010)?

Jack: or ... offensively w/ respect to their
prog.

Gene: Best place for us:

set out in seemingly non-pol. way
a market they cannot reach

- otherwise, an enormously campaign-like
exercise

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

↓ get this #

* Gene: even if you spend (X) on
ABC, you can still ...

Jack: - beyond that, you're either
spending too sec or need
surplus, or not paying
down debt, or both

Gene: we're pretty good at punching
somebody in the eye who
seeming like it ... but
no need to go at them tx out

* - w/ these new #s, if we stay on
prudent
path, we can pay off debt by
2010

[- we have to separate him from us
in terms of combat w/ Bush
- POTUS shd
(*) maintain posture as above it all

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- 1) use it all, pay down by 2009
- 2) plan like ours, pay down by 2010

CHART 2

America debt-free by 2010/the end of
~~same~~ decade

(if this

playing field were defining for the
next President

Glue: I think the only thing we have
to do is keep the P from picking
apart the Bush budget

→ ought to do P's fiscal discipline up
by the 9th — later, + it runs into his
(B's) budget

(11th?)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. memo | For Al Larson, Rick Samans, Laura Efros et al from Gene Sperling. Subject: Globalization/Development Speech. (3 pages) | n.d. | P5 |
| 002. note | Handwritten. Gene. (3 pages) | 12/09/2000 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

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FOLDER TITLE:

Globalization Gap University of Warwick, UK 12/14/00 - Warwick - Drafts [1]

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1323

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Al Larson
Rick Samans
Laura Efros
Tom Kalil
Rob Wescott
Patrick Dorton

Cc: Jeff Shesol
Tom Malinowski

FROM: Gene Sperling

SUBJECT: Globalization/Development Speech

(Dictated Not Read)

The President will be giving a major globalization/development speech in England. The NEC will be co-managing the project with Sandy Berger and John Podesta. Jeff Shesol and Tom Malinowski will be co-speechwriters. While some of the points mentioned below may reflect my own personal preferences for the speech, many, if not most, of these points reflect areas that Sandy, John and I all discussed and agreed on.

Based on a discussion yesterday afternoon, we should be aiming for a speech that focuses on the ~~global challenge of poverty reduction and development. As in the Davos speech, the aim should be for the President's message to be seen as unusually candid and straightforward and identifying the true obstacles and challenges without the normal gloss or pleasantries that exist in political speeches.~~

The speech should seek to have ~~an element of challenge and critique to each of the major global players and should, when appropriate, define how the Clinton challenge reflects a vision of the tough love combination of opportunity only with responsibility.~~ I would like each of you to begin crafting some of the messages, challenges and key facts for the following relevant sections:

✓ **Debt Relief:** We should praise the multi-religious, bipartisan consensus that led to the historic debt relief package in the United States. In addition, this is an area where the President can leave a crucial tough love challenge to future decision makers. We should explain how the world has progressed from a choice between unconditional debt cancellation and those who opposed all debt relief, to a framework in which debt relief is contingent on both good governance and a

global social contract. Where debt service is freed up, those resources should be targeted to a poverty reduction strategy that includes areas like infectious diseases and basic education.

The President, therefore, should make a dual challenge -- first for greater resource support for debt relief, but also an equal challenge to the supporters of debt relief to tough standards so that the champions can win public support by showing that debt relief does work and that the resources do end up helping the poorest of the poor children on the planet. Our focus should not be on pushing debt relief to any specific number of countries, but to ensuring that this historic initiative is successful.

✓ 2. Opening markets of richer countries for developing countries: The President should make the case that open access to the markets of the most advanced countries is essential to successful poverty reduction strategies in the poorest countries. We should note our progress and achievements in passage of the Africa/CBI trade legislation, but the President should be willing to be critical of Europe and self-critical of the United States in saying that we still have further to go and that if the advanced countries are going to be successful they are going to have to do a better job of making the case domestically. This will require both the willingness to stand up to powerful domestic constituencies, as well as strategies to ensure the burden of more market opening is not callously concentrated on an unlucky few.

✓ 3. Universal Basic Education: I clearly want to use this speech to further our push for support of the Dakar goal of universal basic education by 2015. With our usual emphasis on both the importance of girls education and the importance of not only reducing child labor but moving those children into schools. We should cite our dramatic expansion of IPECF funding, our new basic education initiative, our successful inclusion of the Dakar goals in the G-8 communique, and our push to the World Bank to expand resources for basic education.

Here again, our message should be one of mutual responsibility, -- which is consistent with the Dakar framework. In other words, the World Bank and the advanced countries must be willing to devote more resources to basic education in developing countries, but that this can only work when those countries first commit themselves to coming forward with a true strategy for free universal education for all their children, regardless of gender, caste, ethnicity or disability. We should also mention in this section that one of the ways to provide positive incentives when a developing country has put forward a positive strategy is the President's global school-feeding initiative.

4. HIV/AIDS: Here again we should certainly note our significant contributions and accomplishments during the Clinton Administration -- but the President should usher in the challenge to the world to recognize that AIDS everywhere, but particularly in Africa, may be the single greatest crisis in the world today. In addressing the Africa problem, however, the President would also want to stress the early action in countries like India to prevent a crisis from occurring in the first place. Here, too, we must have an element of challenge to the developing

65337
Kum

countries that they must put aside social taboos and publicly recognize the extent of the problem and place it at the top of their policy agendas.

5. Digital Divide: Here we can cite both the statistics showing the enormous potential divide that we discussed at APEC, as well as our positive efforts in creating the Digital Opportunity Task Force. Here, as well, the President can stress that global efforts can only be successful if developing countries are willing to create the legal and regulatory framework that allows for true competition and investment that can make prices affordable to their citizens. Vietnam is a telling example. Tom can fill in the rest.

6. Challenge to multinational corporations and NGOs: A point that was agreed on in the discussion with Berger and Podesta yesterday is that we should have an element of challenge to multinational corporations and NGOs as well. To multinationals, the challenge can be what type of face they will put on the global economy. If they have safe workplaces, good labor standards, and are good community citizens, they can paint a more positive picture of global investment in developing countries.

For NGOs, the challenge is to not let idealism or absolutism become the enemy to constructive change and finding common ground. Sandy Berger had a phrase about finding the balance between patience and finding constructive solutions.

7. Addressing the misunderstanding between developed and developing countries on issues such as labor and the environment: One area which we discussed, though there was perhaps less consensus, was whether the President should discuss topics such as climate change and labor standards. I think that there is a common thread here, in that developing countries fear that we call for such environmental and labor standards as a means of protectionism and to stunt their economic growth. The President has spoken eloquently in the past on why developing countries should seek a different paradigm in terms of climate change. I think it is possible to raise this basic misunderstanding as a hard truth that needs to be dealt with. Sandy seemed open to this but less sure, while I read John as at least leaning that we should be looking to at least include environment and climate change in this speech.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

GENE

12/9 11:30am

Intro

Too negative — Clinton at his worst
Takes too long to get into it

"Value-less" — too little people
sounds like globaliz. is responsible
for them being in pov.

Alt. frame

- ✓ 1) world is inev. more integrated
interdependent.
- 1/2 farmer in NE has come to
learn currency crisis in Philip.
affects him
 - drought in Ethiopia —
seen suffering on CNN
 - by trade

- ✓ 2) we think that's good
but time is: are
(2nd way)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3rd way:

Some say that we shd let
it go unfettered — others wd
say we shd build walls

Neither is it —

feelings & tools
Rt thing is to embrace it
But try to ensure that it's
everybody's sth. living
our values

Why important?

- in our own int.
- a) we're more secure when there's
more peace + promp.
- b) — not zero-sum game —
we're stronger if they are
- c) "spiritual int"
core of our nat'l charter is
basic integrity / equality —
all God's children

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

That's why — econ, security
— we can't be satisfied
to live in a world in which...
[bad stats]

And so...
Let's have candid, straight-
fwd discussion about how
to make it meet our values

→ All have to embrace
respons.

2:00 - 4:00

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. draft | Warwick University. 5:00pm. [with marginalia] (7 pages) | 12/11/2000 | P5 |
| 002. note | Handwritten. Gene. (1 page) | n.d. | P5 |
| 003. draft | Remarks on Closing the Globalization Gap. (5 pages) | 12/11/2000 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Globalization Gap University of Warwick, UK 12/14/00 - Warwick - Drafts [2]

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1324

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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**** EYES ONLY ****

Draft 12/11/00 5:00pm
Shesol/Malinowski

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
WARWICK UNIVERSITY
COVENTRY, UNITED KINGDOM
December 14, 2000**

*Tone editz
+ Gene editz
Mon PM*

Acknowledgments: PM Tony Blair; Sir Shridath Ramphal, Chancellor, Warwick U.; Sir Brian Follett, Vice Chancellor, & Lady Follett; Lord Skidelsky; Caitlin McKenzie, Pres., Student Union; Ambassadors & others TK

I have come to Warwick to talk about the central reality of our time – the revolution that is transforming my nation, your nation, and the entire world. It is transforming our lives; tearing down barriers; building new networks among nations, peoples, and cultures.

We have a simple term for this sweeping process: globalization. Economies are growing more integrated, nations becoming more interdependent. What happens anywhere is felt, in a flash, everywhere, from Coventry to Kansas to Cambodia. Today, farmers in Nebraska, where I was last week, understand that a currency crisis in Southeast Asia can affect their livelihoods. Famine in Africa is instantly known, and images of suffering instantly seen, by the rest of the world. Trade, telecommunications, information technology – they are bringing us closer, and making the world smaller, than ever before.

That, I believe, is a good thing. For most people in countries like the United States and Britain, it is helping to create almost unprecedented prosperity; and, along with it, the chance to meet some of the fundamental, long-term challenges we face. In developing countries, too, it brings the promise of a better future. More people have been lifted out of poverty in the past few decades than at any time in world history. Life expectancy in developing countries is up; infant mortality is down; and according to the United Nations' Human Development Index – which measures a decent standard of living, a good education, and a long and healthy life – the gap between rich and poor countries has actually declined since 1970.

And yet: the global gap remains far too wide. As we begin the 21st Century, 2.8 billion people – half the world's population – struggle to survive on less than two dollars a day. Nearly one billion live in chronic hunger... almost a billion of the world's adults cannot read... and half the children in the poorest countries are not in school. While some of us walk on the cutting edge of the global economy, others live on the razor's edge of survival.

*anything better?
sexy way to say "std. of living gap"?*

We must close the globalization gap. It is among the central challenges of the new century. It is a moral imperative of the highest order. At the core of our national characters is a belief in the inherent dignity and equality of all humankind. And in a global, information age, we no longer have the excuse of ignorance. We know perfectly well how children live and die in the poorest countries, and how little it would take to make a difference in their lives. We can still choose not to act. But we can no longer choose not to know.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

"global divide"?
afraid globaliz.

The Cold War is no longer an excuse, either. No great struggle for our own survival diverts us from aiding the survival of hundreds of millions of people in the developing world. Nor do we have the old excuse that harsh realities a world away are without real consequence for our own people. We have, instead, seen how abject poverty accelerates conflict; how it creates recruits for terrorists and those who incite ethnic and religious hatred; how it fuels a violent rejection of the open economic and social order on which our future depends.

It's not just that nations crippled by debt or disease or inadequate education cannot compete -- they can combust. To dismiss global development as a "soft" issue is to be blind to hard truths. In a world that's increasingly connected, the vast disparities between rich and poor are unsustainable -- a powder keg that could be ignited by our indifference.

I've just come from Ireland, and I think it's no surprise that Ireland is making progress toward peace just as it's becoming the fastest growing economy in Europe. Earlier this year I was in Hyderabad, India, which is becoming known as "Cyberabad" -- a center of India's fast-growing high-tech industry and a source of hope for that country's development. Imagine the innovations that would enrich all our lives if there were a thousand more Cyberabads in the developing world -- if we unleashed the potential of half of humanity.

later
?

How shall we do it? Too often, we are presented with a false choice. Some maintain that free markets, alone, will close whatever gap might exist; that the forces of change should be left unfettered. Others believe we should build walls, insisting that we can isolate our nations from the forces -- the instabilities and inequalities -- many people fear.

This is a choice between two extremes; and we are right to reject it. Open markets, however essential, are insufficient: they can help reduce poverty, but will not end it. And history shows that the building of walls has never really worked. There was, as you know, a wall around Coventry: I understand they started building it in the 14th Century, and paid for it by charging a toll on the goods that came into the city. There are some remarkable traces remaining today. These walls stood strong against would-be invaders; but they never really kept the world locked out. And that, on measure, has been a good thing.

So let us reject this false choice. Let us work to embrace the forces of global change so that they benefit all peoples in all nations -- so that they spur growth and lift lives everywhere in the world. Through trade and the new tools of technology, and by investing in people through education and health care, prosperity can be shared more widely, potential realized more fully, and opportunities created and seized in every country on the globe.

I have worked hard, and so has Prime Minister Blair, to raise these tough issues to the top of the global agenda. Together, we have built a new development agenda for a new century. Today, I want to explore and expand that vision. I want to be clear-eyed about the challenges before us; and candid about the solutions. Underlying them all is this basic belief: if we want the global economy to embody ~~our~~ shared values, then our efforts must reflect ~~our~~ shared responsibility.

All nations -- from the richest to the poorest -- have to dig a lot deeper to summon not only the wallet but the will. That goes for governments and for businesses, for multilateral and non-governmental organizations, for religious leaders and civil society. We all must work

together, more fully and comprehensively than before, and must make the tough choices we have not always been willing to make.

Trade

We must first make clear that open markets and rules-based trade are proven engines of economic growth. We know that countries that have opened their economies to the world have also opened their doors to opportunity and hope for their people. From the early 1970s to the early 1990s, developing countries that chose growth through trade grew at least twice as fast as those who kept their doors closed and their tariffs high.

There's a clear lesson in that for developing countries, but also a powerful message to the rest of us. For example: The UN has estimated that the total shared cost of meeting the problems poor countries face – from health to nutrition to education – would be about \$40 billion a year. But consider this: if the wealthiest countries ended our agricultural subsidies, leveling the playing field for the world's farmers, that act alone could increase the income of developing countries by \$20 billion a year.

That's why I disagree with some of the anti-globalization protestors. When they say we should expand our economies without trampling on our values, they're right. But when they suggest that poor countries should somehow be "saved" from development by keeping the doors of trade closed, that's a recipe for perpetuating poverty, not ending it.

Our imperative is clear. We need to open our markets if we're going to give the world's poorest workers the chance to grow and prosper. Still, none of us should underestimate the size of this challenge. We have to build a new consensus on trade. We have to answer those who fear that the burden of opening markets will fall mainly on them, whether farmers in Europe or textile workers in America, whose concerns fuel powerful political resistance to the idea of open trade. We must work to improve education and job training so that all our people have the skills and confidence to compete in the global economy.

We must build a consensus among rich and poor nations alike for human rights, labor rights, and the environment – for spirited economic competition that does not become a race to the bottom, showing developing countries that our concerns are honorable, and not a pretext for protectionism.

Both the United States and Europe have to work harder to build that consensus for trade. In America, for example, it is true that we devote too little of our wealth to development assistance. But on a per capita basis, Americans also spend nearly 40 percent more than Europeans on imports from developing countries. Recently, we passed a landmark trade agreement with Africa and the Caribbean Basin that will make a real difference in those countries. Imagine how much growth would be spurred, and how many people would be lifted from poverty, if Europe and Japan opened their markets even further.

For that to happen, leaders like myself must do better in making the case not only for exports, but for imports. The debate in my country over the Africa-Caribbean Basin Initiative was a difficult one; it took too many years; and too many Americans remain unaware that

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imports increase innovation and competition as well as savings for our hardest pressed families. We need to do a much better job of making the argument in full.

Debt Relief

At the same time, we must acknowledge that trade alone cannot lift nations from poverty. Many developing countries are crippled by the burden of crushing debt – draining resources that could be used to meet the most basic human needs, from clean water to schools to shelter. For too long, the world was paralyzed by this problem – divided between those who felt that any debt forgiveness would hurt the credit-worthiness of developing countries, and those who demanded outright cancellation of debt with no conditions.

Last year, at the G-7 Summit in Cologne, the world's wealthiest nations began to build a new consensus – responding to a remarkable ~~a broad~~ coalition among religious faiths, businesses and non-governmental groups, and political parties in all our countries. We acknowledged that debt relief was critical; but also that relief without reform was of little help at all. And so we have struck a global social contract. We pledged enhanced debt relief to countries that ~~pledge themselves to fundamental reform, that~~ put forward plans to spend their savings where they ought to be spent – on reducing poverty.

This, we know, can make a dramatic difference. Uganda, for example, has already used the savings to doubled primary school enrollment. With America paying its fair share, Bolivia will now save \$77 million and use it on health and education. Honduras will offer its children nine years of schooling instead of six.

The question before us is how to move forward. I believe we must strengthen this global social contract. The developed world must make greater efforts – as we did in the United States when we called for 100 percent bilateral debt relief – and take steps to include more countries in our initiative.

But let me be clear: we are not going to make progress by lowering our standards or rushing to add more countries to the list. The best way to build support is to show success. That starts with good governance. Developing countries have got to root out corruption... to open their budget process... and to show their people an honest accounting of where resources are being spent. If we have a moral obligation to provide debt relief, we have a ~~moral-related~~ obligation to make sure our resources reach the people who need them most – the very poorest people on this planet.

new

Health & HIV/AIDS

The poorer they are, of course, the less healthy they are. Today, infectious diseases are responsible for one in four deaths in the world. Diseases ~~like you and I scarcely see in our own countries~~ – malaria, tuberculosis, and diarrheal diseases – kill 8 million children a year. Already, in South Africa, Botswana, and Zimbabwe, half of all 15-year olds are expected to die of AIDS. That is the human cost. The economic toll it takes is also considerable: over the next decade, AIDS will cut the GDP of some African countries by 20 percent.

Africa

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Developing~~Poor~~ countries themselves hold part of the answer. However limited their resources~~small their budgets~~, they must make treatment and prevention a priority. And whatever their cultural beliefs, they must be honest about the ways AIDS spreads and how it can be prevented. Talking about AIDS is tough, but it is far easier to tell your children the facts of life than to watch them learn the facts of death~~tough talk is essential~~. It is shocking that in China – a country with enough resources~~wealth~~ to teach all its children to read – only 4 percent of adults know how AIDS is transmitted. Uganda, on the other hand, has cut the rate of infection by half.

But the bulk- of new investment will have to come from the developed world, ~~too, has to increase its investment~~. In the last ~~two~~ few years, Britain and the United States made a good beginning~~have done just that~~. Still, the difference between what the world provides and what the world needs for treatment and prevention of AIDS, malaria and TB is \$6 billion a year. That sounds like a lot of money. But think about this: America's fair share, about \$1.5 billion more than what we already spend, is about the same as what our government spends each year on office supplies. It's the same as what Americans spend each year on toothpaste.

Government alone can't meet these health needs; but thus far, and neither ~~can~~ has the market. Drug companies have little incentive to develop medicines for people who can't pay for them. Only 10 percent of all biomedical research is devoted to diseases that overwhelmingly affect the poorest countries. That's why America has sharply increased its investment in vaccine research; boosted funding for buying vaccines, so that companies know there's will be a guaranteed market; and proposed a tax credit to subsidize the purchase ~~help provide for~~ of future vaccines. We should expand that approach to the development of drugs; and keep pressing pharmaceutical companies to make ~~these~~ life-saving treatments~~drugs~~ affordable to all.

Universal Basic Education

One of the best health programs, the best economic development plans, the best anti-poverty strategies, is a good education. Each additional year spent in school increases wages by 10 to 20 percent. A primary education boosts a farmer's output by about 8 percent. And the education of girls is especially critical. Studies show that literate girls have significantly smaller and healthier families. More than that, imagine if all children, on every continent, had the tools to fulfill their God-given potential. Imagine the prospects for peace and democracy in a world that is more literate and better skilled.

We are making progress. In the past decade, primary enrollments have increased at twice the rate of the 1980s. Still, unfortunately, more than 100 million children receive no schooling at all. Sixty percent are girls. Almost half of all African children and one-quarter of those in South and West Asia are being denied this fundamental right, this basic root of all opportunity.

UNESCO and
Just this year, ~~under UNESCO's leadership~~, the world set a goal of providing basic education to every child – to girls and boys alike – in every country by 2015. Few of our other efforts will be successful if we fail to reach this goal. What it will take is now known to us all. It's going to take a commitment by developing countries to propose specific plans and realistic budgets... to get their children out of the fields and factories... and to remove the fees and other obstacles that keep them out of the classrooms.

It's going to take a similar effort by the wealthier nations. One promising example is America's ~~our~~ \$300 million global school lunch initiative – using a nutritious meal as an incentive for parents to send their kids to school. But all of us – from America to the World Bank to the developing world – need to do more. ~~We need to be able to say that n~~ No strong national plan should ever be allowed to fail for lack of resources.

Digital Divide

Finally, we must close the global digital divide. Today, a person in South Asia is 700 times less likely to have access to the Internet as a person in the United States. It's estimated that in 2010, in the Asia-Pacific, the top eight economies will have 72 percent of their population on line, while the bottom eleven will have less than 4 percent. If that happens, the global economy really will resemble a world-wide web – a bunch of interlocking strands with great big holes in-between.

Now, it's fair to ask: ~~whether~~ Are computers really an answer for people who are starving or cannot read? ~~Is... whether~~ e-commerce is an answer for villages that lack e-lectricity. Of course it's not. ~~The~~ The fight against poverty begins with the basics. ~~b~~ But the fight for dignity requires ~~we ought to be seeking~~ far more than basic survival. And we shouldn't patronize poor people by saying they can't use the tools of the 21st Century.

Last March, I visited a village in one of the poorest states in India. A women's co-op there has set up one computer that provides them with life-saving information on child and maternal health. Meanwhile, in mountain villages in Bolivia, they're selling rugs to New York department stores over the Internet instead of growing coca for the drug trade. This is just the beginning. Developing countries need to pass laws and regulations that permit the greatest possible access at the least possible cost. And in the developed world, governments ~~we need to~~ must work with corporations and NGOs to provide equipment and expertise. That's the goal of the new Digital Opportunity Task Force, or DOT Force, which America proposed and the G-8 has embraced.

ask Kalil

Conclusion

I said earlier that our shared values will only be realized by stepping up to our shared responsibility. Leaders -- who set national priorities -- ~~like ourselves have to show moral courage in have to face these problems, not deny them, or delegate them entirely to the World Bank or the UN. ing the problems and political persistence in forging solutions.~~ NGOs – who deserve credit for raising the world's awareness, need to show they can also find practical paths to progress. And multi-national corporations – who have done much to create jobs and generate growth – ~~have a self interest in being partners for need to show similar concern for~~ a cleaner environment, for a ~~healthier~~ ^{n. only gradual} safer workforce place, for the freedom of association and the rights of workers to organize. ~~Not simply in their own countries, but in all the countries of the world. I~~ am very pleased to announce that we have worked with the British government to develop a set of voluntary human rights principles for companies in extractive industries like oil and mining, and several leading companies have agreed to embrace them.

check on it 1st

*quite controversial
- needs to be cleared w/ econ team*

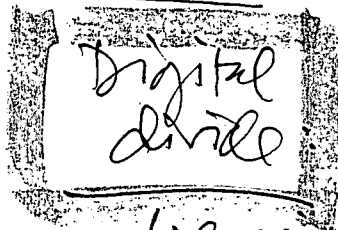
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We know that the struggle for basic human dignity is as old as humanity itself. But the persistence of poverty and suffering in the world is not proof that this struggle is futile. It is merely proof that the struggle is difficult. I am enough of a realist to know it will always be hard. But I am enough of an optimist to believe we have an opportunity to succeed today as never before in human history. There is no great debate about the solutions to the problems of economic development -- we know what must be done. So many of us live at a time of extraordinary good fortune -- we can afford to do what is required. Surely, we can seize the defining feature of this global age to defeat the age-old scourge of human want. And we must, if "globalism" is to have any meaning for most of humanity.

If we make these tough choices -- as nations, as businesses, as international institutions -- then we can build a global economy that leaves no one behind, carrying all countries into a century that, we hope, will be marked by peace and prosperity ~~for all peoples~~. We have before us as great an opportunity as the world has seen. Let us work together to seize ~~that opportunity~~. Thank you.

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Gene



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

We can't say there's a
choice of penicillin + Pentium.
That's
- another false debate.

Gene edits
Fri. AM

Draft 12/11/00 10:30am
Shesol/ Malinowski

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON CLOSING THE GLOBALIZATION GAP
WARWICK UNIVERSITY
COVENTRY, UNITED KINGDOM
December 14, 2000**

Acknowledgments: PM Tony Blair & Cheri Blair; Sir Shridath Ramphal, Chancellor, Warwick U.; Sir Brian Follett, Vice Chancellor; Ambassadors & others TK

[Intro/ Blair/ local color TK]

I have come to Warwick to talk about the central reality of our time – the revolution that is transforming my nation, your nation, and the entire world. It is transforming our lives; tearing down barriers; building new networks among nations, peoples, and cultures.

We have a simple term for this sweeping process: globalization. Economies are growing more integrated, nations becoming more interdependent. What happens anywhere is felt, in a flash, everywhere, from Coventry to Kansas to Cambodia. Today, farmers in Nebraska, where I was last week, understand that a currency crisis in Southeast Asia has a very real effect on their own livelihoods. Famine in Africa is instantly known, and images of suffering instantly seen, by the rest of the world. Trade, telecommunications, information technology – they are bringing us closer, and making the world smaller, than ever before.

That, I believe, is a good thing. For most people in countries like the United States and Britain, it is helping to create almost unprecedented prosperity; and, along with it, the chance to meet some of the fundamental, long-term challenges we face. In developing countries, too, it brings the promise of a better future. More people have been lifted out of poverty in the past few decades than at any time in world history. Life expectancy in developing countries is up; infant mortality is down; and according to the United Nations' Human Development Index – which measures a decent standard of living, a good education, and a long and healthy life – the gap between rich and poor countries has actually declined since 1970.

And yet: the global gap remains far too wide. As we begin the 21st Century, 2.8 billion people – half the world's population – struggle to survive on less than two dollars a day. Nearly one billion live in chronic hunger... almost a billion of the world's adults cannot read... and half the children in the poorest countries are not in school. While some of us walk on the cutting edge of the global economy, others live on the razor's edge of survival.

We must close the global gap. It is among the central challenges of the new century. It is a moral imperative of the highest order. At the core of our national characters is a belief in the inherent dignity and equality of all humankind. And in a global, information age, we no longer have the excuse of ignorance. We know perfectly well how children live and die in the poorest countries, and how little it would take to make a difference in their lives. We can still choose not to act. But we can no longer choose not to know.

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The Cold War is no longer an excuse, either. No great struggle for our own survival diverts us from aiding the survival of hundreds of millions of people in the developing world. Nor do we have the old excuse that harsh realities a world away are without real consequence for our own people. We have, instead, seen how abject poverty accelerates conflict; how it creates recruits for terrorists and those who incite ethnic and religious hatred; how it fuels a violent rejection of the economic and social order on which our future depends.

It's not just that nations crippled by debt or disease or inadequate education cannot compete – they can combust. To dismiss global development as a “soft” issue is to be blind to hard truths. In a world that's increasingly connected, the vast disparities between rich and poor are unsustainable. Global poverty is a powder keg – and could be ignited by our indifference.

I've just come from Ireland, and I think it's no surprise that Ireland is making progress toward peace just as it's becoming the fastest growing economy in Europe. Earlier this year I was in Hyderabad, India, which is becoming known as “Cyberabad” – a center of India's fast-growing high-tech industry and a source of hope for that country's development. Imagine the innovations that would enrich all our lives if there were a thousand more Cyberabads in the developing world – if we unleashed the potential of half of humanity.

How shall we do it? Too often, we are presented with a false choice. Some maintain that free markets, alone, will close whatever gap might exist; that the forces of change should be left unfettered. Others believe we should build walls, insisting that we can isolate our nations from the forces – the instabilities and inequalities – many people fear.

This is a choice between two extremes; and we are right to reject it. Open markets, however essential, are insufficient: they can help reduce poverty, but will not end it. And history shows that the building of walls has never really worked. There was, as you know, a wall around Coventry: I understand they started building it in the 14th Century, and paid for it by charging a toll on the goods that came into the city. There are some remarkable traces remaining today. These walls stood strong against would-be invaders; but they never really kept the world locked out. And that, on measure, has been a good thing. *together find away*

So let us reject this false choice and, instead, embrace the forces of global change. *merge so that*
~~let us also ensure that~~ they benefit all peoples in all nations – that they spur growth and lift lives everywhere in the world. Only through trade and the new tools of technology, and by investing in people through education and health care, will prosperity be shared more widely, potential realized more fully, and opportunities created and seized in every country of the world.

I have worked hard, and so has Prime Minister Blair, to raise these tough issues to the top of the global agenda. Working together, we have built a new development agenda for a new century. Today, I want to explore and expand that vision. I want to be clear-eyed about the challenges before us; and equally candid about the solutions. Underlying them all is this basic belief: if we want the global economy to embody our shared values, then our efforts must reflect our shared responsibility.

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

All nations – from the richest to the poorest – have to dig a lot deeper to summon not only the wallet but the will. That goes for governments and for businesses, for multilateral and non-governmental organizations, for religious leaders and civil society. We all must work together, more fully and comprehensively than before, and must make the tough choices we have not always been willing to make.

Trade

First, we must make clear that open markets and rules-based trade are proven engines of economic growth. We know that countries that have opened their economies to the world have also opened their doors to opportunity and hope for their people. From the early 1970s to the early 1990s, developing countries that chose growth through trade grew at least twice as fast as those who kept their doors closed and their tariffs high.

There's a clear lesson in that for developing countries, but also a powerful message to the rest of us. The UN has estimated that the total shared cost of meeting the problems poor countries face – from health to nutrition to education – would be about \$40 billion a year. But consider this: if the wealthiest countries ended our agricultural subsidies, leveling the playing field for the world's farmers, that act alone could increase the income of developing countries by \$20 billion a year. We could close the global gap by half. *check*

That's why I disagree with some of the anti-globalization protestors. When they say we should expand our economies without trampling on our values, they're right. But when they suggest that poor countries should somehow be "saved" from development by keeping the doors of trade closed, that's a recipe for perpetuating poverty, not ending it.

Our imperative is clear. We need to open our markets if we're going to give the world's poorest workers the chance to grow and prosper. Still, none of us should underestimate the size of this challenge. We are going to have to build a new consensus on trade in our own countries. We must find a way to answer those who fear that the burden of opening markets will fall mainly on them, whether farmers in Europe or textile workers in America, whose concerns fuel powerful political resistance to the idea of open trade.

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~~We have~~ We have to hear the citizens who say we must put a human face on the global economy; who want to ensure that spirited economic competition never becomes a race to the bottom in labor standards or environmental protection. And we must ~~answer~~ *ask* developing countries, and show them that our concerns for human rights are honorable, and not a pretext for protectionism. *do all of them well **

that those who express these
We've been working hard to build a new consensus in the United States, with some success. It is true, for example, that America devotes too small a proportion of our wealth to development assistance. But it's also true that on a per capita basis, Americans spent nearly 40 percent more than Europeans on imports from developing countries. If Europe and Japan would match our level of imports, developing country income would rise by [TK] percent. *to be with to engage an honest discussion w/ us bc how we*

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I am pleased that this year we were able to conclude a landmark trade agreement with Africa and the Caribbean Basin that will make a real difference in those countries. But it was a

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difficult debate; it took too many years; and too many Americans remain unconvinced. Many remain unaware that imports reduce prices and increase savings for low-income families. We need to do a better job of communicating that. And, most important, we need to keep working to give hard-working people the tools – and the confidence – to succeed in a changing global economy.

Debt Relief

Second, and at the same time, we must acknowledge that trade alone cannot lift nations from poverty. Many developing countries are crippled by the burden of crushing debt – draining resources that could be used to meet the most basic human needs, from clean water to schools to shelter. For too long, the world was paralyzed by this problem – divided between those who felt that any debt forgiveness would hurt the credit-worthiness of developing countries, and those who demanded outright cancelation of debt with no conditions.

Last year, at the G-7 Summit in Cologne, the world's wealthiest nations began to build a new consensus – a broad coalition among religious faiths, businesses and non-governmental groups, and political parties. We acknowledged that debt relief was critical; but also that relief without reform was of little help at all. And so we struck ~~what I have called~~ a global social contract. We pledged debt relief to countries that pledge themselves to fundamental reform, that put forward plans to spend their savings where they ought to be spent – on reducing poverty.

enhanced
This, we know, can make a dramatic difference. Uganda, for example, has doubled primary school enrollment. With America paying its fair share, Bolivia will now save \$77 million and use it on health and education. Honduras will offer its children nine years of schooling instead of six.

The question before us is how to move forward. I believe we must strengthen this global social contract. The developed world must make greater efforts – as we did in the United States when we called for 100 percent bilateral debt relief – and take steps to include more countries in our initiative.

But let me be clear: we are not going to make progress by lowering our standards or rushing to add more countries to the list. The best way to build support is to show success. That starts with good governance. Developing countries have got to root out corruption... to open their budget process... and to show their people an honest accounting of where resources are being spent. If we had a moral obligation to provide debt relief, we have a moral obligation to ensure our money actually reaches the people it's intended to help – the very poorest people on this planet.

Health & HIV/AIDS

[TK]

Universal Basic Education

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One of the best health programs, the best economic development plans, the best anti-poverty strategies, is a good education. Each additional year spent in school increases wages by 10 to 20 percent. A primary education boosts a farmer's output by about 8 percent. More than that, imagine if all children, on every continent, had the tools to fulfill their God-given potential. Imagine the prospects for peace and democracy in a world that is more literate and better skilled.

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Just this year, under UNESCO's leadership, the world set a goal of providing basic education to every child - to girls and boys alike - in every country by 2015. Few of our other efforts will be successful if we fail to reach this goal. What it will take is now known to us all. It's going to take a commitment by developing countries to propose specific plans and realistic budgets... to get their children out of the fields and factories... and to remove the fees and other obstacles that keep them out of the classrooms. It's going to take a similar effort by the wealthy nations. Not simply to provide nutritious meals to school-age children, but to ensure that no strong national plan should be allowed to fail for lack of resources.

Digital Divide

[TK]

Conclusion

[TK]

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Paul

66719

[bracket]

still long list of business take up next yr.
keep going back -
unfinished business

- ✓ PBR
- ✓ min wage
- ✓ hate crimes
- disabilities
- ✓ gun safety

500 sec
prescription
drugs

Paul
Room 807

7 hrs. diff.

progress

marine guard outside office
33102

1:00 AM EST - movement
contact unknown

3:00 AM EST - Istanbul

7:00 AM EST - London

helped aog...
defense...
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fax 33610
Turkey

19

dir dial 011-90-312-466-7087
fax

Nic office
Hilton Ankara
Room: Mitch Blackburn
33286

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. report | Phone Number. [partial] (1 page) | 11/9/1999 | P6/b(6) |
| 002. email | Karen Tramontano to Richard Samans, Brian Kennedy, Terry Edmonds, et al. at 12:38pm. Subject: York Remarks. (1 page) ✓ | 11/08/1999 | P5 |
| 003. note | Handwritten. Orszag. (1 page) ✓ | 11/1999 | P5 |
| 004. note | Handwritten. Eric Schwerin. (1 page) | 11/1999 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Harley [Davidson] - York, PA 11/10/99 Trade Ed. Day - York, PA 11/10/99

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz237

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Karen Framontano

11/08/99 12:38:51

PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc: Melissa G. Green/OPD/EOP@EOP
Subject: York Remarks

Currently we have the president touring the facility, facilitating a round table w/ the ceo, general manager, local union president, perhaps international union president and 4-5 workers -- and daley will be in the round table too.

then we have the president speaking to about 2500 workers -- I know we will want him to talk about the "come back" of harley davidson about joint labor/management stuff to bring the co back -- trade is a double-edged sword here -- because huge imports killed them in the 70's-80's -- Regan I think issued a 201 -- which gave them some relief -- but then they came back -- with alot of hard work --

I think how the president tells this story and how he relates to seattle and the upcoming round is pretty tricky stuff -- and speechwriting will need alot of help from policy -- rick, brian, malcolm, i usually cry out for gene and lael -- but i know that gene is out of pocket -- so rick, brian, malcolm jeff and i will really need your help on this one

Message Sent To:

Richard M. Samans/OPD/EOP@EOP
Brian V. Kennedy/OPD/EOP@EOP
Terry Edmonds/WHO/EOP@EOP
Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP
Malcolm R. Lee/OPD/EOP@EOP
Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP

OPSZAG

482-5022

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Bruce
Reed

Eric
Schwerin
482-1360
- info +
contacts

- 1) ~~that~~ This is not "Trade is good"
or we'll get killed from left
- Talk about upsides + downsides
- How to build consensus on trd

2) Harley

huge success story
about how trd laws work
early '80s - won dumping case
→ success

- export
everywhere

- some countries want to loosen dumping
laws in WTO - but we're not
going to let that happen
(David Aaron's remarks)
[now strong?]

~~4/8/91~~

ERIC SCHWERTIN
482-1360

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Program
- CEO
- Daley
- worker
- POTUS

Daley has been on Nat'l Trade Ed. Tour
- grassroots — factories, schools, etc.
- leadup to WTO

Not really using "Trade Ed. Day"
instead "Nat'l Dialogue..."
[talk to Karen]

DOC
gite for
Trade Ed.
Tour

* Roundtable w/ select workers

* Speech to workers — open press
Why trade is key to Harley,
to you,
to USA

20 major events that day — satellite feed
- AT&T CEO Mike Armstrong in NJ — talking
w/ our event → chair P's ~~Export~~ Council
- linked to RT
- interaction during RT
- Also, Boeing, Bell South, Beth. Steel, etc.
large + sm. countries — nearly 200 hearing activities
- And schools ("virtual trd mission")

Daley — flavor of what's going on around country
POTUS — how great to start this dialogue on eve
of WTO; benefits + challenges of trd.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. note | Personal. [partial] (1 page) | 06/28/1999 | P6/b(6) |
| 002. memo | For Michael Waldman from Lowell Weiss and Jeff Shesol. Subject: New Markets Tour--Proposed Events and Themes. [with marginalia] (3 pages) | 06/29/1999 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

New Markets 7/99 - New Markets - General

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1326

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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June 29, 1999

MEMORANDUM TO MICHAEL WALDMAN

FROM LOWELL WEISS
JEFF SHESOL

SUBJECT NEW MARKETS TOUR - PROPOSED EVENTS AND THEMES

Day 1: Monday, July 5, 1999

- Lowell
- Site 1: Downtown, ~~McKee~~ ^{Anneville}, Kentucky

Event: Walking tour of downtown

Visual: Dilapidated storefronts ? *residential?*

*Deliverable: Baulstone grant
to KHC - \$1m*

- casual*
- Site 2: ~~Woodcraft Co.~~ ^T McKee, Kentucky

mid south electric

Event: Informal conversation with employees

Visual: Employees demonstrate plant equipment or display products to President

- Site 3: Downtown crossing, Hazzard, Kentucky

Event: Address to people of Eastern Kentucky

Visual: Large outdoor crowd (1,000+); Independence Day BBQ, bunting, celebration

Message: Overview of key New Markets themes

- 1) widening the circle of opportunity
- 2) investing in communities the right way - the third way
- 3) mobilizing the private sector

Day 2: Tuesday, July 6, 1999

commercial/corridor?

- Site 1: Residential neighborhood, Clarksdale, Mississippi

*Deliverable -
CDFI*

JTB Event: Walk to front porch of employee of Waterfield Cabinet Co.; meet with family

Visual: President on front porch with family

↳ has connection w/ CDFI

- Site 2: Waterfield Cabinet Co., Clarksdale, Mississippi

tour: meet workers? p on factory floor

Event: Opening remarks and roundtable discussion with CEOs and local business owners

Visual: President flanked by CEO and local business owner

Message: Third way

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Off
June

- Site 3: Walgreens, East St. Louis, Illinois

Hugh McCall
announcement - \$500m - when?

Event: Tour store with Jackie Joyner-Kersey; meet employees; buy Miles Davis CD

[Miles Davis was from East St. Louis]

Visual: President buys CD

speaking engagement - somewhere
- minor remarks - more of an OTR?
informal

OTR
min.
R's head

- Site 4: Crazy Horse, SD - mt. Rushmore

Day 3: Wednesday, July 7, 1999

- Site 1: Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota

Lowell

Event: Visit family in distressed housing; travel by motorcade with family to future home (family has just been approved for their first mortgage)

Visual: Family shows President kitchen in new home (under construction)

- Site 2: Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota

Event: Opening remarks at Tribal Conference

Visual: President speaks to CEOs, tribal leaders & community at large

Message: Bringing isolated communities into economic mainstream

June

- Site 3: Keys Community Center, South Phoenix, Arizona

n Vucanata
Mexican
Food

Event: Visit Project Stride, a BankAmerica & EZ-funded job-training program (fills specific skill needs of local businesses)

Visual: President looks over shoulder of trainee at computer screen

helicopter
departure
- informal remarks

Day 4: Thursday, July 8, 1999

June

- Site 1: Watts, Los Angeles, California

Event: President walks same streets he walked in 1992

Visual: Same

computers? see center?
job training / youth opportunities
- celebrities involved
- success stories since 1992
informal remarks

Off

- Site 2: Anaheim Hilton and Towers Hotel, Anaheim, California

Event: Keynote remarks, CEO Conference

Visual: President at podium flanked by CEOs

Message: Looking ahead - challenging private sector to enter new markets and take responsibility for expanding the circle of opportunity

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

**New Markets:
Themes & Pictures Day-by-Day**

Monday, July 5th

Theme: We have a responsibility to **SEIZE THIS HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY** to bring all Americans into the economic mainstream.

Picture: President in casual clothes, *reaching out* and talking with a few local folks in "front porch" type setting.

President addressing *the community* in a town square type setting.

Tuesday, July 6th

Theme: Bringing **PRIVATE SECTOR INVESTMENT** to untapped markets creates opportunities for *both* American families – and corporate America.

Picture: President introducing CEO to local business owner.

President leading discussion with a mix of CEOs and local residents on the benefits – and difficulties – with running a business in a depressed area.

Wednesday, July 7th

Theme: How Your Country can be a partner in bringing capital and business assistance to America's untapped markets. (**PUBLIC INVESTMENT**)

Picture: ??
President introducing Secretary Rubin to a local business owner.

President leading discussion and calling on Administration officials to respond to problems/issues raised by local folks.

Thursday, July 8th

Theme: Call for **NEW ENERGY AND NEW IDEAS**. (Announce WH Conference?)

Picture:

Substance: Announce a White House Conference with real people of all stripes. Anyone with good, productive ideas and energy is welcome.

(Takes it out of "legislative" arena into Executive Leadership... and it would probably make an excellent conference. Could be "later this year" or "early next year")

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. draft | Draft Tax Letter. [with marginalia] (2 pages) | 10/24/2000 | P5 |
| 002. draft | Draft Tax Letter. (1 page) | 10/24/2000 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Budget 10/25/00 & 10/27/00 - Budget Statement 10/25/00

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1327

RESTRICTION CODES

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that hope
cong can pass

this session

DRAFT TAX LETTER

Dear Speaker Hastert:

Dear Mr. Majority Leader:

We are well beyond the time when
this Congress should have finished, with
most of our report work still in front of us.
This time we are congressional

As we approach the end of the session, a number of the budget issues are still unresolved and unfinished. We need to break the gridlock that Congress has fallen into if we are to complete our work this year and serve the interests of the American people who elected us.

In that spirit, I would like to put forward a possible consensus tax relief offer to help resolve the impasse on taxes. This offer does not contain everything that my Administration and Congressional Democrats would prefer; nor does it contain all that Congressional Republicans hope to see. Rather, it recognizes both sides need to give a little in order to accomplish bi-partisan tax relief this year.

First, we can raise the minimum wage without eroding traditional worker protections, while at the same time providing reasonable and targeted tax relief for small businesses. Accordingly, we would accept the core elements of Speaker Hastert's offer on a minimum wage and small business tax package, costing approximately \$30 billion over 10 years, with a few modifications on meals and entertainment deductions and amortization of reforestation expenses, extension of the welfare-to-work tax credit, and elimination of the FLSA and FUTA provisions. As to the health insurance proposal, see below. provided that the health insurance proposal is discussed below

Second, we can accept the pension legislation adopted by the House and Senate, costing about \$50-60 billion over 10 years, average provided that modifications are made to ensure that employer-provided pensions for rank and file workers are not harmed, to provide meaningful protections for workers affected by cash balance conversions, and to provide progressive savings incentives for low and moderate income workers.

Third, the package should of course include the tax incentives for New Markets/Community Renewal, at a cost of about \$25 billion over 10 years, with some important technical changes that we have previously discussed and other associated items upon which we can agree.

Fourth, we believe that it is essential that the LABOR/HHS bill include the Rangel/Johnson proposal to build and modernize 6000 schools through \$24.8 billion in school construction financing, costing \$8.5 billion over 10 years.

It is also essential that we provide a tax credit for vaccine research and purchases, which will save lives and advance public health, costing about \$1.5 billion over 10 years.

Finally, the package should include the replacement of the Foreign Sales Corporation regime, which has passed the House and Senate with broad bipartisan support, costing about \$4.5 billion over 10 years.

I believe that the package I have outlined above can, ~~with an approximate estimated cost of \$130 billion over 10 years~~, be the basis for bipartisan consensus on a tax package.

We also believe it is possible to forge a bipartisan agreement that would expand health care coverage for uninsured working Americans ~~and ease the burden of long-term care on American families~~. We believe that the best way to do this is through the Family Care plan that would provide new health insurance for millions of working Americans, ~~and the \$3000 tax credit for long-term care in my FY 2001 budget~~. We are concerned that a deduction for the purchase of private health insurance in the individual non-group market is an inefficient and costly way to do coverage, is far less equitable than other options that use refundable tax credits, and could lead to private employers dropping health coverage, ~~for rank-and-file workers~~. However, in the spirit of bipartisanship and breaking gridlock, we could find a credit acceptable if ~~either~~ included necessary consumer protections in the individual insurance market and were packaged with the bipartisan FamilyCare proposal, which builds on the successful Children's Health Insurance Program and expands affordable insurance to over four million parents.

We could also agree to your proposal to provide an enhanced long-term care deduction for the purchase of private insurance, with appropriate consumer protections, if the package also included our proposal to provide a \$3000 tax credit for people with long-term care needs or the families who care for them. This tax credit would provide immediate assistance to those burdened by these long-term care costs today. This combination has broad bipartisan Congressional, consumer, and insurer support.

In the spirit of compromise, I believe we can work together quickly to pass this balanced legislation for the American people.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

2 propos before that
your idea be modified as a credit
and be packaged with
(supple)

L7 can
for 5000
Mptd Stakes - to turn in
③ But if you will do L7 and 2 in prob
to do can accept

2d like to
propose to you
to modify as
as both President
under

OCT-24-2000 15:58

LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

202 622 0534

P.02/02

Revised tax letter
from Talisman

Dear Mr. Speaker/Mr. Majority Leader:

I am writing you regarding final tax legislation this session. There is still the prospect of bipartisan cooperation to produce effective tax legislation that can help American families and strengthen the American economy.

While the opportunity for fiscally responsible, targeted estate tax and marriage penalty relief has been lost, we can make progress on other important issues. First, we can reform the pension laws to help middle-income Americans save for retirement without undermining employer-provided pensions for rank-and-file workers. We can raise the minimum wage without eroding traditional worker protections, while at the same time providing reasonable and targeted tax relief for small businesses. We of course should enact bipartisan legislation to repeal and replace the Foreign Sales Corporation provisions, and to provide tax incentives for New Markets, Community Renewal and associated items.

I also believe it is essential that we support school construction, to build and modernize 6,000 schools through \$24.8 billion in school construction financing, along the lines of the legislation introduced by Mr. Rangel and Mrs. Johnson, and vaccines research, along the lines of the legislation introduced by Ms. Pelosi and Ms. Dunn.

We also believe it is very important to make progress in broadening health coverage availability. We believe the best way to do this is through the Family Care plan that would provide new health insurance for millions of working Americans, and the \$3,000 tax credit for long-term care expenses advanced by the President in the Fiscal 2001 Budget. While we believe that other approaches that have been proposed have flaws in their effects, I have no doubt that with cooperation on both sides a suitable agreement could be reached.

But it is essential in the short time left that, if there is to be tax legislation, an appropriate process of consultation begin immediately, to work out the reasonable compromises the American people expect of us.

We look forward to working together with you in order to enact a bipartisan tax bill this year.

Sincerely,

[WJC]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-------------|

| | | | |
|------------|--|------------|----|
| 001. draft | Remarks on the Budget. [with marginalia] [partial] (2 pages) | 10/26/2000 | P5 |
|------------|--|------------|----|

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Budget 10/25/00 & 10/27/00 - Budget Statement 10/27/00

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1328

RESTRICTION CODES

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And in a similar case of misguided priorities, the Republican bill would give our Medicare resources to HMOs that don't need it, instead of the teaching hospitals and home health agencies that do. Of all the money they give to HMOs, they don't require that a single dollar go to beneficiaries. Even worse, the majority has blocked bipartisan proposals to extend coverage for people moving from welfare to work, and to expand coverage for children with disabilities. Just an hour ago, I was meeting with a group of Americans with disabilities, and I just could not explain to them why the leadership would block these bipartisan proposals. What coverage the majority does provide goes to one-seventh the people, each at six times the cost.

referred
at the
beginning
of my
remarks

The bill the House passed last night also abandons my bipartisan approach to providing long-term care; and fails to address the lack of pension coverage for more than 70 million hard working Americans.

I am also prepared to veto the deeply flawed bill to fund the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State. As I've said from the start, I cannot accept a bill that is unfair to immigrants. The Republican bill, as it now stands, does nothing to restore fairness to our immigration laws, and does next to nothing for the families who have lived here in America for many, many years. This legislation also fails to permit justice to work its course: it fails to include a tough hate crime provision; and fails to provide the Department of Justice with the funds it needs if we're going to hold the tobacco companies accountable for the damage they've done.

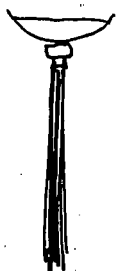
Let me say again: there's no great secret to getting things done, or to getting them done right. You just have to come to work every day, and keep the priorities of our people at the top of your list. Unfortunately, the majority in Congress has done neither. Still, I will continue to expect nothing less - because the American people deserve nothing less. They sent us here with an important job to do, and Congress should not go home until we get it done. Thank you.

min
wage

OR (joke)

Stay here through the weekend - work every day... etc.
Vote every day, meet every day (?)

BPRA



Full bore tell Clinton

operate under assumption people have
Gene: P has to explain from scratch no idea...
really have to break through
"P is warning repulsor"
visual? Calendar w/ X's since 10/1?
Go all-out--
- min wage vs. pay raise...

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

What's our goal? too shut down the gov
or to keep them here? too: to keep it

for
play near us

IVe ^{act on the}
^{inconsist.}
crooked
always much more under than we are

2 versions

1) expansive predicate (gene)
if they're not going to work w/ prop

2) shorter version (joe) (chuck)
necessary code "work every day..."

Very basics - back to the beginning

joe

1) min wage

let's make no mistake — we're gonna raise
min wage
Set it up

- student hold hostage
to spec int tx
breaks
- student play games

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2) defining lang on why tx bill is wrong

assert pos. on what we want — schools

(what's wrong w/ their tx bill)

frame our demand in pos.

retirement
h.c. coverage

3) riff out on ^{latino} imm. / hate crimes — lose US

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. email | Stephanie Cutter to Joel Johnson at 3:56pm. Subject: Real People... (2 pages) ✓ | 08/30/2000 | P5 |
| 002. draft | Marginalia. [partial] (1 page) ✓ | 08/24/2000 | P5 |
| 003. email | Stephanie Cutter to Jeff Shesol at 9:17am. Subject: Our Farmer for Thursday. (2 pages) ✓ | 08/30/2000 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Estate Tax Veto 8/31/00 [2]

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1329

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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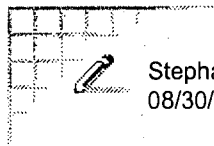
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Stephanie A. Cutter
08/30/2000 03:56:48 PM

Get it

Sam Spencer
62684 *7:00pm*

Record Type: Record

To: Joel Johnson/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP, Jackson T. Dunn/WHO/EOP@EOP, James R.
Kvaal/OPD/EOP@EOP

Subject: real people for tomorrow

Joel --here are the options for tomorrow. both have been vetted, and are on message. let me know when we can confirm them. thanks.

→ **Martin Rothenberg** *charitable contrib.*

Martin Rothenberg, age 67, grew up in New York City in a working class family. His father was a house painter, and his mother repaired sewing machines. After serving in the Army, he received his college degree through the GI Bill. In 1991, with his family's savings of roughly \$500,000, he founded Syracuse Language Systems, an educational software company that helps children with language disabilities. Four years ago, he sold Syracuse Language for \$30 million. After distributing his profits among his 3 children and starting a new foundation -- the Joan Rothenburg Family Foundation -- Martin founded Glottal Enterprises, a manufacturer of computer-based systems for the remediation of speech communication disorders. Martin believes that an estate tax is necessary in this nation to help close the gap between the rich and poor. He also believes that a repeal in the estate tax comes down to a question of priorities. Instead of giving a tax break to the top 2% of the nation's wealthiest families, Martin feels should take advantage of our enormous, unprecedented prosperity and meet such challenges as building new schools, providing health insurance to the uninsured, and improving education for America's children.

Sandra Rothenberg, Martin's daughter, will be accompanying him. She runs the family foundation, and teaches business administration at the Rochester Institute of Technology. Martin and his daughter are both advocates for the President's veto.

→ **John and Margaret Sumption**

John and Margaret Sumption own an 1,800 acre family farm in Frederick (Brown County), South Dakota. Farming has been in John's family for generations. With four of the Sumption's children already owning their own farms, John and Margaret would like to pass along their farm to their 5 children. The Sumptions raise livestock (beef cattle) and harvest

grain (wheat, barley, oats, corn, soybeans, some flowers). The farm is currently worth roughly \$2 million (net). With proper planning, John and Margaret expect to be able to pass it on to their children. John also stands to inherit his father's farm; with planning, John's father will be able to pass on the farm to him.

While John thinks the estate tax law is currently too complicated, he believes that it is still necessary for large estates and does not support abolishing it. To help the smaller farms with estate planning, John supports the \$4 million estate tax relief plan. Of the 2 million farms across the nation, 98% of them are not subject to the estate tax.

*Greene dir. attack on regressivity
be focused*

00 AUG 24 PM 10:08

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

*ted turner
pena: Buffet / rich person
- I don't need this
I can take care of myself but govt
and take care of poor kids*

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 8 legislation to phase out federal estate, gift, and generation-skipping transfer taxes over a 10-year period. Although I am willing to sign targeted and fiscally responsible legislation that provides estate tax relief for small businesses, family farms and principal residences, along the lines proposed by House and Senate Democrats, this bill is fiscally irresponsible and provides a very expensive tax break for the best off Americans while doing nothing for the vast majority working families. Starting in 2010, this bill would drain \$50 billion to benefit tens of thousands of families, taking resources that could have been used to strengthen Social Security and Medicare for tens of millions of families.

This repeal of the estate tax is the latest part in a tax plan that could cost over \$2 trillion, returning America to deficits. This would reverse the fiscal discipline that has helped make the American economy the strongest it has been in generations, and would leave no resources to strengthen Social Security or Medicare, provide a voluntary Medicare prescription drug benefit, invest in key priorities like education, or pay off the debt held by the public by 2012. This tax plan would threaten our continued economic expansion by raising interest rates and choking off investment.

We should cut taxes this year, but they should be the right tax cuts, targeted to working families to help our economy grow – not tax breaks that will help only the wealthiest few while putting our prosperity at risk. Our tax cuts will help send our children to college, help families with members who need long-term care, help pay for child care, and help fund desperately

P5

00 AUG 24 PM 10:08

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

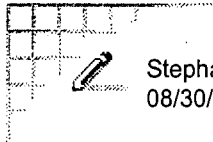
P5

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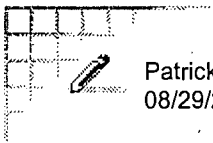


Stephanie A. Cutter
08/30/2000 09:17:43 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP@EOP
CC:
Subject: Our farmer for Thursday

----- Forwarded by Stephanie A. Cutter/WHO/EOP on 08/30/2000 09:17 AM -----



Patrick M. Dorton
08/29/2000 10:46:05 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Stephanie A. Cutter/WHO/EOP@EOP, James R. Kvaal/OPD/EOP@EOP, Jason Furman/OPD/EOP@EOP
CC:
Subject: Our farmer for Thursday

Tom Bias (314-3107, cell is 236-4809 at the National Farmers Union is our key contact for a farmer -- they will pay for one to fly out on Thurs. He is still looking for a farmer with a farm of between \$1.5-2 million that would benefit under the Democratic proposal -- I left it with him that we needed another example before 10 on Wed. or else we would go w/Brant (as long as he vets and someone asks him if he's ever had legal trouble -- we haven't done this yet). I just sent him to Gerk and Elizabeth for vetting.

Our farmer for Thurs. at this point is ~~Brant Kurt from Bisbee, North Dakota~~. He is a grain farmer with a 1000 acre farm. With the land and the machinery, its worth about \$640,000. He is married (wife's name is Lauri) with no kids yet. He is 26 yrs old. His Dad died some years ago, his Mom (she is 56) now owns the farm. He also works as a loan officer at the credit union. His wife is a music teacher, his Mom is a teacher as well. ~~He doesn't know one farmer that is subject to the estate tax. Doesn't really think we need tax cuts unless he can afford them. Thinks Clinton/Gore have generally done a good job.~~

~~Tom Bias thinks Brant would be fine with the message that estate tax isn't a big problem for farmers, that he thinks the Democratic proposal to raise it is a good idea in case his farm gets more valuable some day, and that we shouldn't have a massive estate tax cut giveaway to the most well off and that we would be better off spending the money on paying down the debt, education, Soc. Sec.~~

Things that need to be done:

1. James, can you call Tom Bias early in the AM to see if we have another farmer. If we do, interview him w/Furman and consult w/Stephanie.
2. If no one materializes and Brant vets, James, can you hook up w/Stephanie, do a last runthrough w/Tom and Brant -- hit the legal question, and make sure he's OK speaking in front of a group.

3. James, can you work with Jason and Stephanie and Brant to make sure Brant's statement is OK.

THANK YOU!!!!

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. note | Handwritten. Convention Speech. (8 pages) | 08/04/2000 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Convention Speech 8/14/00

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1330

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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Bealla:

I have one st. I want to win.
I do not about these
in progress + I want to be moving my
camping.

at that moment I have to
at a big fund sandwich, all the it.

both at McCain. He stood up there + ate the
T: pretty slicker... in great fund sandwich + he
has ever seen. + he did it
ble he wants to win.

B: This is some thing I have. He can't
fire me + I don't care if he yell at
me.

Where has he been?

I tell you where they've been — oppo-
sing us at every juncture.

After a wk. of looking Clinton,
his approval is 60 to 70 — right track is
50-60 to 70. Their avg. is 11. for time when
"it takes" in 1400, like it was in '92
coated from last 8 yrs? This guy
coated through his life!

you talk about "soft bigotry" of 1960s
your goddamned life has been blessed
by the soft bigotry of low expectations!

For me, it's personal.
You want to say C. ~~that~~ I had a girlfriend +
I'm not going to have sex with it, that's fine.
But, he's gone to McCain — to friends
that really matter — things we
needed hard on for 8 yrs.

That's not costing, friends, that's the
long hard uphill climb

Yes:

Search the world.
write a

30 sec. speech.

challenge
said: "Action is eloquence" Ask the people
to express their eloquence of one simple
act: elect all

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JS.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

On Sept.:

He would not comfort me w/ ...
He would comfort me w/ the
brightest future.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

CONVENTION
SPEECH MTG.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8/4 3:00 pm

MP:

'90 - voices of hope
In '92 we heard the voices of hope; + we
set out to answer them.

More HRC - as partner, etc.
Personal P
something conservative

More emotional about '92
^{entering again}
left us a little less convincing
- Regret was greater than P
~~what~~ what was had told American
people

MP:

* Do you want to continue this progress?
~~then~~ - try again
then: build up 4 more yrs.

BP: We built our bridge to the 21st c.
We have crossed it, together.
* And we're not going back.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

En '92, & said
Don: "place called Hope"

we have made twice a place
called / of hope.

Define leadership

It's about... [But it's well understood /
Gore's strength]

Best thing we can do for Gore is
Reinforce the battery — econ. / progress
say nice things about Gore +
Nobody trusts it

Litany is manageable — putting / inserting
Gore in everything

Don: back left his opening last at:
specific-sounding issues
no specific solutions

→ There's not being specific bc they
don't want you to know what they
for. Let me tell you what we for,
specifically

for...

What we're for

That's very diff. from what others wd
have to do... (14)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Am. people want choice b/w A & B...

MR. Deference

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

BEGALA THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
8/4 11:30 pm

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1) answer charges
take up cudgel -

I heard the other day,
a very pleasant young man
chewing, but out of touch
stand up + say I eat 8 years

Would have you been, man?

not force of nature, force of nature! will
8 yrs ago, we were driven in the
ditch of defeat, decline, despair
not driven there by Am. people

Would once... now...
") can stars

and
Where was he been?

At the same time things we need change

They say our policies are right one
the approach - trickle down
spec barriers for spec interest
deep + painful cuts for poor, Head Start

They want to relitigate the last 8 yrs?
bring it on!

They did have their chance

Been there, done that, didn't even get
a T-shirt
to return to that

not be like Captain of Titanic, sitting
in highest, looking for more iceberg.
jam it so far up his ass it comes out his
nose

People so desperate to discredit P

was, two people
2) more difficult for him - we put all his
those accomp. - all were team effort
no one was central to team from

At some

* he receives full measure of credit for
giving the world the world's best
the sun of have committed are mine +
mine alone. + in America, we do not
hold others accountable for our own actions
Do not punish country for failures of
one man

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. draft | Race to the Bottom. (6 pages) | 05/16/1998 | P5 |
| 002. note | Draft for Race to the Bottom. (2 pages) | n.d. | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 24501

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Senior Staff Sp. - Rham: "Race to the Bottom"

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1331

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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1000-1200

filled of ~~the~~ rhetoric
not ^{succinct} enough

Draft 5/16

I.

Fax to
Lizbon
Tues

Race to the Bottom

Why?

At a pivotal political moment in the future of American government, Republican Party leaders -- distracted, divided, and dissembling -- are reaching new depths of degradation.

Expand - picture of strong econ.
(Forget about a serene, status-quo election this Fall.) Looming thunderclouds are rolling in over the Republican's picnic. The GOP coalition is fracturing, crumbling and in trouble -- and not just at the edges, but at its very core.

Quite simply, the Republican right wing is unable to construct a new governing vision. The Cold War issue is off the table. The Democrats have trumped them on the balanced budget. They're desperate to find a new villain to replace the defunct Soviet Union -- the "fed scare" now substitutes for the "red scare."

Unlike Republicans, Democrats have traditionally recognized government as a positive means by which society can improve itself. Franklin Roosevelt perceived the federal government "as the whole people organized to do what had to be done." And years earlier, Republican Theodore Roosevelt put it even simpler: "The government is us; we are the government; you and I."

To add insult to injury, the Republicans now also find themselves being openly blackmailed by an ultracon wacko "walkout strategy" that demands that the GOP vote again (and again) on a range of specific social-conservative issues that are an anathema to most middle-of-the-road Americans.

Not interested with any substantive legislative issues, Republicans are, instead, obsessed with how their actions in the remaining 12 working weeks in Congress may resonate in the fall campaign. With their control of the House at stake, their agenda has shrunk solely to

irresponsibly attacking the President with unfounded accusations of "criminal" actions.

Can you imagine the chagrin of the national Republican Party that James Dobson, a ~~Nazarene evangelist~~ -- far more powerful than Pat Robertson or Jerry Falwell at the height of their appeal -- now threatens to end the GOP majority in Congress and drag the party down to principled defeat in 1998? Even the U.S. Chamber of Commerce fumes that these activists "would like a holy war against business."

Insisting that he has been "insulted" and "disrespected" ever since the Republicans wrested control of Congress in 1994, this religious right wing radio evangelist with 20 million devoted listeners on over 2,000 stations delivered a "my way or the highway" demarche to the Republican leaders in a Capitol Hill basement last March.

Since then, Dobson has made it clear that he is serious about leading a mass walkout from the GOP of social and Christian conservatives -- somewhat akin to a Democratic labor union strike. "If I go," he has promised, "I will do everything I can to take as many people with me as possible."

The end result, Dobson predicts, "would be the Democrats in the White House *and* the Congress... so that would be unfortunate. But you never take a hill unless you are willing to die on it. And we will die on this hill if necessary."

So dissatisfied is he with the performance of Republican conservative leaders in Congress that he pledges to "go nuclear." He will not be easily swayed. As for the Republican assurances that the GOP will fall into lockstep with him, he says, "We've got to see the proof. If they will not change, I will try to beat them this fall."

The bottom line is that Republican leaders must, in effect, choose their own poison. The GOP can either show Dobson the door, or it can try to pass his radical agenda, which calls for,

among other things, abolition of the Department of Education and a constitution amendment to ban abortion.

Dobson

If the Republicans stiff him, they may well lose a crucial component of their very narrow majority. The risk of alienating their voting base is real, but the risk of looking like a prisoner to the extreme right wing is even greater. *U.S. News & World Report* recently reported that "one senior Republican official says he has identified six Congressional districts in which Dobson could turn the tide against the GOP candidate."

On the other hand, if Republicans suddenly get religion and "convert," they can watch moderates and economic conservatives rush for the exits in horror. In telegraphing a message that the GOP can't take its conservative base for granted, Dobson is also sending a flash cable to the American people as a whole: Republicans are being ordered around by a frightening religious zealot.

Say what you will, the majority of American voters simply won't pull the lever for a party that constantly succumbs to extortion from an extreme faction with a flaming moral vision.

What's increasingly evident is that there are two distinct skylines on the Potomac -- one centered at the White House that is focused on the governance of a nation enjoying unparalleled prosperity, unchallenged international leadership in a world without major conflict for the first time in over half a century, and a budget surplus for the first time in four decades. The days in this Washington are spent trying to capitalize on this good fortune in the worthy, innovative ways that the decisions of government have been made at the White House since our birth as a nation.

The other city, at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, seems to occupy another dimension, and displays the worst traditions of government -- ineptitude, indifference, and inertia. Capitol Hill is operating in a dangerous fashion that threatens the stability and prosperity the White House is seeking to extend.

While some may tell you this is normal, that Washington has always been a bipolar town -- Democrats and Republicans, newcomers and natives, haves and have-nots -- today's political situation is certainly beyond the norm for bizarre behavior in this capital city.

One day, the friendly Speaker of the House, wearing a flannel shirt, is signing books. The next day the Georgia Slasher, wearing a hair shirt, is throwing bricks.

triple
mixed
metaphor.

One day the Republicans are piously leveling ethics charges against a Democrat for possessing a tape of a cellular phone conversation revealing duplicity by Republican leaders. The next day Republicans scramble to defend their doctored transcripts of another taped telephone conversation, this one between Democrats.

One day the Republicans decry the autocratic tactics of the IRS, claiming outrageous persecution. The next day they defend a zealous special prosecutor straight out of Kafka who seems intent upon crushing confessions out of every person in his path.

Politics as usual? Hardly.

Having spent so many years defining themselves in terms of what they are "against," the Republicans lack any clear vision now of what they are "for." It's proven a difficult habit to break.

Meanwhile, the public has grown weary of the Republican's divisive Willie Horton ads.

What? The last Stalinist has died. Rubbing sleep from their eyes, they see, much to their discomfort, that the budget, thanks to the Democrats, is now balanced. So now where to go? What to do? Because their extremist and negative agenda has excluded from their ranks so many of those who had a positive view of change, as well as those for whom complex social or environmental issues were not simply black and white, who, then, is left to constructively lead from their side of the aisle?

It's no wonder why there's some mystery surrounding the lack of direction within a group so recognized for their well-disciplined siege of the Democratic House some years ago. Starting with the Conservative Opportunity Society's wolf-pack attacks on Speaker Jim Wright and their focused efforts to force conservative social issues onto the Congressional agenda, the Republicans moved national messages in ways not seen before. Their teamwork with numerous conservative groups brought national messages to Representatives' home districts and aggregated community issues into national causes.

However, soon after achieving their takeover of the House and Senate, the Republican revolution ran smack into the wisdom of the Founding Fathers who designed an elegant, yet simple, system of government to keep us safe from extreme or stupid ideas. The Republicans' government shutdown of 1994 and 1995, and the strong public sentiment against such rule-or-ruin extremism, caused their ship to founder. They had committed the cardinal political sin. They believed their own press releases. Worse, they mistook them for public support. After their shellacking, they searched in vain for a back-up legislative plan only to discover the cupboard was bare.

More to the point, the Republicans misjudged the American public. They assiduously try to find their margin of victory in the ranks of disaffected Americans who provided their razor-thin margin. But those Americans who initially supported them have now shifted back to the center. They have chosen to move beyond the politics of exclusion, away from anxiety, to seek a more inclusive, a more stable approach to government.

These Americans rightfully believed in the calls to defeat communism, balance the budget, and downsize government. But their daily paper advises them that these goals have been accomplished. So instead, they now lift their eyes to the horizon, to what Walt Whitman called, "A life for America that does what was promised." Calls by conservatives to rile them up into further revolutionary acts seem strange, and strike a discordant note given the current domestic economic and global reality.

Americans see a President who has concentrated on one-nation politics -- changing the economy, focusing on education, health care, and the environment. For the first time in more than a generation, we now have the means to meet our ends, the capabilities to realize our purposes.

Within Republican ranks, moderates who could have reconnected their leaders with mainstream Americans were either excluded from leadership, retired, or beaten by their hardcore right-wing brethren candidates in bitter primary elections. The conservative groups, elevated to power, flushed with victory, viewed moderation as weakness. They would tolerate none of it, and they would finish the job of sealing off the Republican party from developing a moderate set of policy options.

Now the Republicans are left stranded with the minority of Americans that thrive on their selfish agenda and continue to be motivated by the politics of fear and anxiety. Conscience, community, and responsibility are left on the sidelines.

Resisting any attempt to redirect their movement, the remaining Republican leadership, unable to consolidate and govern, sees no way out but to continue the revolution. Gingrich and Kasich look to run for President. ^eArmy, Livingston, and a dozen others seek to become Speaker.

As a result, every normal act of government becomes part and parcel of a political agenda played out on the national stage. Every misstep becomes strung out into a conspiracy to be uncovered for one's individual political gain. And every misdirection, misjudgment and deception becomes a spear to be thrown at one's Republican competitors.

This is the culture of that other Washington. The one at the other end of the street; the one that might as well be at the other end of the world.

→ principle, not party

Couple facts

pol success of balanced budget → disorienting of GOP

1) elim of balanced budget (internal) → while maintaining Dem values
banner united under — all wings of party, morals to tx-cutters
P got what he wanted (policies) — agenda → disequilibrium
more than loss of RR as person
→ no organizing principle

2) open race for P + Speaker (internal)
dispersed party into competing factions
ongoing primary on Sen + Hse floor + caucuses — legislatively
like any primary
→ play to LCD for advantage (ie Gramm vs. Dole)
Dobson's is loudest, most noisy faction

How did we get to Dobson?
He's not the problem itself

— actually, only manifestation of what happened to GOP
any wing, any voice that screams loudest can stop party
— ie, moderates

Anecdotes

3) (external:) why they can't govern

haven't come to terms w/ how to deal w/ Clinton

— don't want to coop, alienated rt.

— ~~so~~ seen as obstructionist

LOA didn't want rt to see him working w/ P on NATO expansion

— no trad. public picture of coordination, even on areas usually insulated from partisan politics

knows Bible — "thần b" — but represents all the things
there's a pol/soc rxn to — VN, civ rts,

a) — they can't believe he can quote it — chapter + verse, yet..

b) values of counterculture

c) see his values-based agenda as a New Dem

Cultural / values → endangered → visceral response

USNWR quote "Governing is hard; it's easier to attack c."

Bottom — Dobson / Ashcroft

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. note | Handwritten. Sid. (3 pages) ✓ | 01/18/2001 | P5 |
| 002. note | Handwritten. Ricchetti. (1 page) ✓ | 01/18/2001 | P5 |
| 003. note | Handwritten. Baer. (2 pages) ✓ | 01/17/2001 | P5 |
| 004. note | Handwritten. Farewell Address Meeting. (6 pages) ✓ | 01/2001 | P5 |
| 005. note | Handwritten. Gene. (1 page) ✓ | 01/2001 | P5 |
| 006. note | Handwritten. Rham. (1 page) ✓ | 01/16/2001 | P5 |
| 007. note | Handwritten. Baer. (1 page) ✓ | 01/16/2001 | P5 |
| 008. note | Handwritten. MW. (2 pages) ✓ | 01/16/2001 | P5 |
| 009. note | Handwritten. Begala. (2 pages) ✓ | 01/18/2001 | P5 |
| 010. note | Handwritten. MW. (2 pages) ✓ | 01/12/2001 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 24760

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FOLDER TITLE:

Farewell Address 1/18/01 [1]

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1333

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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SID

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

fund. conceptual

more war with stuff

need to explain "human

- global econ won't work w/o social justice

- be more specific about probs

- global warming; new security agenda (disease, ed); closing gaps b/w rich + poor

- and gaps:

- just spreading tech isn't by itself spreading freedom —

- or the benefits of globaliz won't be shared broadly

- the "soft agenda"

- women's rts. — "educating women"

more oblique way to attack their "fortress America" idea.

- tech itself won't fix these probs

* A cent. on role of our allies in intl engagement.

- "our leadership will be in is measured by the wholehearted support of our friends & allies in the world — not by our isolation"

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

were
Setting markers ^{in this sp.} for the next next Admin
after they get rid of Bush.

Keeping the world united + not
divided on a global scale

SID

1:20pm THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

was in Oval w/ POTUS

~~He~~ I'm not gonna give it the way
He doesn't like it. ^{it is.}

He thinks it's all rhetoric

Third way - intell
- philosophical underpinning
of his

~~Perhaps~~

Threats - Bosnia, Kosovo -
if we don't take control
of globaliz.

LORETTA

from KT:

He'd cancel it before he'd give it.
Maybe we + sandy & write it
together.
(He's having separation anxiety.)

1:30 KT: ~~He~~ He was just reeling...
It's not like it was a conversation.
"People will never know what we did..."
"Doesn't anybody care about me?"
"Did anybody talk to sandy? B/c sandy knows
it doesn't say anything... what I want

1/18 11:00am THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RICCHETTI

building bridge

~~path~~

One America

lowest crime
welfare

~~better off~~

4 great things we did

1) fiscal discipline ('93)

2) globaliz. (trade, etc.)

3) lands legacy

4) education - doubling

5) NATO was tested - rose to challenge

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

BAER 1/17 9:30 am

Warning — go 51

And leave, there are a # of things
that

to me, uppermost in my mind +
that will have greatest impact
is how we come to terms w/
globaliz.

This may be the most fund change
of our time.

— were

by showing we will lead

The challenge for country is to
continue to lead

— America is the indispensable
nation

— and for the good of our own
people

As we move forward

— across national borders
— ec, env, work etc

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

One thing I know for sure —
we cannot + shd not roll
back
forces of globaliz.

— that is our greatest hope for
progress

Then ...

I have always been an
(Best days ahead) optimist...

Then ...

Grace note

I wish the new
P well in his
gubernatorial
I ~~to~~ thank the
Am people...
(you may find
someone who does
job better...)

end

on high inspirational note
(ie future preference)

~~He~~ remember what a prof of
mine in college said:

— Not if shd be way up there
walking from stage

FAREWELL
ADDRESS MTG.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DDP office 2:00 pm

DDP:

POCUS is trying to write an outline now
Two one goes v/w — it doesn't say
anything

His own sense if I get from last
— it's rhetorical — doesn't say anything
all a bunch of buzzwords strung
together

SRB:

Too passive — world changed around
us — a major thing we beheld
- JWP ✓

What should it say?

SRB: don't reinvent wheel

switch

more organically related to what he
says his policy is about

this is bit of artificial construct

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Gene: core summing up or
take specific msg. and code food
Is this the most important
message or warning?
(Too removed from the core)

SPB: Unless there's going to be edge
to challenge, do summing up
- Face / One America

What have we done to make change
work for America?

- What are the challenges

Great unanswered challenge —
One America

Gene: three things

- 1) fiscal discipline — so that all benefit
- 2) leading in world
- 3) coming together as a people — not just race, but service

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SRB: 1st half — more humility
He's what I sought to do —
accomplish as things then accept as done
- to move from deficit to surplus
- create opp....

Greene:
Start w/ How
(*)

SR: we said our govt had to change
→ fiscal disc
→ intl econ, etc.

DYP: Do we want this to be about change?
lose 4th Q
make 3rd Q — state goals there more
→ new govt

SRB: This is what I set out to do (x)
x = things we ach'd
Yet we still have challenges (y)

SRB:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SB:

these forces are continuing, + they
- f.p. require...
- One America

BR: Humility

SRB: Thanks earlier

I want to thank the Am. people...

And more important
their hard work in transforming/
renewing America

BR: → stronger, safer, etc.
(all b/c of them, not him)

SRB: I have more hopeful, more confident,
(AK) more idealistic.

→ end this way (JRP)

Gene: start w/ values (#5)

I'd like

w/ in each area → futuristic

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JWP: fiscal discipline as sub-element
of making an econ pol'y
good for all
(means to end)

that you cd bring def

JWP: structure:

THANKS

VALUES / PHILD.

I just want to say 3 things

- ECON

- GLBB in context that's more
threaty (incl peace, etc.;
(or rhetorical))

- RACE

- OPTIMISM/
out

(Dark side of tech?)

SRB: forces of integ. also carry forces
of disinteg. —

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MRP: Putting tech in a more pos.
context
Context of prep. for 21st C.

SRB: We can't hope these challenges
will disappear - retreat

JMP: Sci. (cutting-edge issues
(privacy, climate change, etc.)

SRB: Harvest the benefits of sci while
facing some of its challenges:
A, B, C

Gene: RACE

Autobio — grandfather

SRB NOT about him (not self-serv.)

live ~~seen~~ ^{through} myself — this
has been central thread of
my life

GENE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Gen

1) fund tension
fisc def +
invest def

bring down debt
while ↑ exp

2) my goal not just
that we grow, but
grow together.

- we fought to ↓ deficit
while

- you can maintain it
while allowing more to
share in it

(JBP is handed note that Fox will
run it. "we have nothing today,
but all the networks will
run it.")

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RAHM 1/16/01 6:00 pm

Praise the people not in self-aggrand. way
seized the future
had the courage to stand up
+ seize future - didn't shrink
from tough choices
(not - ie. Begala - about standing
by him)

Stay away from programs

Fight this hard

Paul + I can help in this

Stay away from us + talk to them

Ph 312-558-9266
fax - 9245

→ fax Reagan now
farewell

see Begala's accomps
more results - oriented

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

BAER

Accomp (any) is values laden

- going toward work remaining
to be done

Hope we will end w/ (as we used to)

Carroll Quigley - "future pref"

1) future better

2) our moral resp. to make it happen

MW 1/16/01

THE WHITE HOUSE

9:00 pm

WASHINGTON

e-mail MW latest draft

9:30 pm
Gerald
CNBC

Beginning + end are good

Completes "ship of st..."

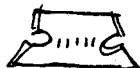
- an old econ metaphor

Sharpen globalization section

- as sharp as Wash. or The

- pick on eugenics a little

(*) - make it clear that there's
courage in this



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

* His warning: fiscal discipline
gandy

BEGALA

THE WHITE HOUSE

1/18/01 1:00 pm WASHINGTON

The central debate of our party

catadynamic debate of our time
but - wrenching debate about role of govt
whole theory - new one about what
govt can be —
and we won it
(It turned bloodier — OK city)

too passive on globaliz
we created this — ~~and~~

Not emotional — doesn't

He reconnected people w/ their govt.
There's so much magic in the guy +
it's not b/c he was a free trader.

He was successful b/c he always engaged
people.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The challenge to the Bush people should be this:

- Courts can only be legit w/ the consent of the governed

(Bush is going to try to enact ideas the Am people has rejected & history will reject.)

That's where the debate is going to go fwd -

Scalia rigged the election for Bush ~~etc~~
b/c they had to have ~~power~~ control of the jud.
to continue this neutering of the fed govt

They didn't steal the election to stop globaliz.

[Paul says - did you write this for Davos or for Dayton?

MW 1/12
~~6:19pm~~ 6:19pm THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

This is as formal + mannered + structured
a exp. - where exp
as an inaugural or a SOTU

Reagan's was utterly anomalous - chatty
timers were part of trilogy (w/ 2 inaugs.)

What is the founding doc? Arg to be made
to go back to 1st inaug.

Trad of warnings

GW - avoid standing army
LH - mil-ind complex

- both were playing against type

It wd be just as unusual to have
exp w/o warnings

you have chance to do what do
Clinton sw has been able to
- everyone else is out to lunch, packing
to write great exp / guide it w/o committee
Decent chance it'll be the exp

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

He needs to rehearse

Get it done over the weekend
you've been handed a gift

By this pt in '97, do you know
how many committee mtgs ~~there~~^{were}?
many thing for you is,

Begala + Baer have shot their
wad already... And Jim

Drink 18 cups of coffee + do it

It's almost like ~~hard~~ Gerson

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------|-------------|
| 001. note | Handwritten. [Notes on Farewell Address]. (6 pages) ✓ | 01/15/2001 | P5 |
| 002. draft | Farewell Address to the Nation. [with marginalia] (3 pages) ✓ | 01/15/2001 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 24760

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FOLDER TITLE:

Farewell Address 1/18/01 [2]

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1334

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

close like here?

-1

I made a lot of promises -

I didn't promise that times wd be
dull -

young man - hope to be of
service to country in future

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

LINE
EDITS:

I' Rushed for this time to speak to you
about the last 8 yrs.

Global forces A → too rhetorical

✓ In 1992, when I 1st ran for P,

we saw these changes coming.

✓ But it was not at all clear they
wd be good for our country. It was
not at all clear our citizens wd
have the tools + skills ...
* Our econ. was hobbled by

✓ lose "our leaders..." — too harsh

✓ Govt ~~was~~ + Wash seemed stuck
in an endlessly replayed loop of
args ~~as~~ over old policies ...
- crime, welf, deficit

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Those 1st few mos. in office, we made
some of the hardest decisions
said stop living on debt...
we worked over
and made some progress

Cooling back, as is often the
case, the toughest decisions
are the ones most worth
making

This has been ~~the~~ a great time for
But ~~the~~ ^{reality} that can't be the
only test...

~~And there have~~
Not always clear where port is, but
I had these values as guide
— putting people first

We showed that joint didn't have to be
big to work, and but effective

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

he showed that the vital center was
still place of

we forged a new consensus —
new way to govern

we now

Test: are you making full case
for how to prepare for 21st
C.

Trans: the test is not just good
enough, but are we doing
all we can to prep...

you've often heard talk of R.I.C.
These are the values I tried
to bring to work every day
— budget bill

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OKO - talk about theory 1st

End: so



But there's a track in these sp. 1
which is a good one —

DON'T Focus so much on
the plan but on what we did —

- education (new focus)
- new approach to US int'l econ
leadership as key to our own
prosperity
- new approach to foreign policy
that recognized that while Cold
War was over, there were still
threats we need to lead toward —

—
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



→ we are prep'd for 2^{1st} c.
We have built the bridge

story will continue...
looking fwd... Here are warnings..

SOTU

JDP comments:
write for 7 mins.
too long a windup

Draft 01/15/01 12:30pm
Jeff Shesol

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
THE OVAL OFFICE
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
January 18, 2001**

idea that's memorable
America vs. Americans?

My fellow citizens:

Tonight, for the last time as President, I am speaking to you from the Oval Office.

I can hardly believe how much time has passed since that crisp, clear, winter's day, when I stood before the crowds at the Capitol and spoke my first words as President. So much has changed since that day: in our own lives, and in the life of our nation. It has been a long time since America has seen change as swift, or as sweeping.

Like many of you, I feel both pride and humility that we begin this century more united, prosperous, and strong than our nation has been in a generation. Eight years ago, in the depth of winter, I called for a "season of American renewal." Today, I am proud to say that the season has turned, and the spring has come.

I will always be grateful to you, the American people, for twice giving me the privilege to serve as your President. And I will always consider myself blessed to have served in such challenging times.

This is a remarkable moment for America and the world. New forces have changed – forever – the ways we live, and learn, and relate with one another. They have created a new era of unprecedented prosperity, transforming an economy run by industry into one driven by ideas and information. They have empowered us as individuals while making us more interdependent; and have put the world, quite literally, at our fingertips.

In 1992, when I first ran for President, many Americans saw the change coming. But they were not at all sure that they welcomed it. They were not at all confident they would have the tools or skills to succeed in the global economy. The American spirit was strong as ever, but was being stifled by low economic growth; by high deficits, interest rates, and unemployment; and by a national debt that had quadrupled in just 12 years. Our social fabric was fraying. And our national leaders seemed stuck in an endless loop of old arguments over welfare, the deficit, and crime.

Once or twice a century, the American people face a fundamental choice, one that I posed anew in my First Inaugural Address. I said: when "powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world," the question is "whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy" – whether we are going to shape change, or let ourselves be shaped by it.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Someone has said the President is like the commander of a ship at sea. He must have a helm to grasp, a course to steer, and a port to seek. Well, my mandate in 1993 – and my mission ever since – was to steer our ship of state in these great tides of change, and to help all Americans navigate the challenges of a new century.

For almost 3,000 days, my helm has been this desk. And on every one of those days I have had the honor to work here, I have sought to move our country forward in a way that advances our enduring values. Every day, I have asked myself: will the work we do expand opportunity for all Americans? Will it deepen our sense of personal and mutual responsibility? Will it broaden our vision of community? All the work I've done as President – every decision I have made, every executive action I have taken, every bill I have proposed and signed – I have done with these things in mind.

Looking back, the toughest decisions were the ones most worth making. From the start, we knew that fiscal discipline would be the foundation of all our other efforts, of anything else we wanted to achieve. Three decades of deficits was long enough. And so, for the first time in a generation, we balanced the budget, turning red ink into black – and standing strong against those who said the only way to balance the budget was to do it on the backs of the poor. Instead, we stayed true to our values, and put America on the path to progress.

Now, I've only got a couple of days left in office, but the historians and pundits are already debating how much credit I get, or don't get, for all that went right with our economy. Well, maybe I can just clear this up right now. I don't think any President can take the credit for everything good that happens under his watch. That credit goes to the American people – to their relentless drive, and their restless, creative spirit. All that any President can hope to do is help create the conditions, and give people the tools, to build a better future for themselves and their families.

Of course, a strong economy shouldn't be the only measure of our progress...

[social progress; leadership in the world]

[Third Way/ role of gov't]

[warnings: fiscal discipline, race]

[conclusion, grace note to Bush, looking forward, thanks, role of citizen]

*Pen: warning on the econ / globaliz. / internationalism
on future peace, progress + stability - warning about a new
interdependent world*
*JDP: An arg. for engagement w/o being arrogant (w/ some humility)
speech at war with — they don't care about any of that stuff
— then winner take all view of world w/ an unsettling moral
(or other) consequences₂*

I learned some things while
Here's what I learned

JMP: — Everyone came along for ride
- unlike past recoveries...
- people thought that you didn't do this anymore

MP: Econ — changes — whole new econ
- fiscal respons.
- new econ

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 001. memo | For the President and Michael Waldman from Eric Liu. Subject: State of the Union. [partial]. (3 pages) | 12/19/1997 | P6/b(6) |
| 002. note | Handwritten. [Note for Farewell Address] (1 page) | 01/2001 | P5 |
| 003a. memo | To Josh Gottheimer from Paul Begala. [with Jeff Shesol marginalia] (1 page) | 01/05/2001 | P5 |
| 003b. memo | For the President from Paul Begala. Subject: Farewell Address. (4 pages) | 01/02/2001 | P5 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 24760

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FOLDER TITLE:

Farewell Address 1/18/01 [3]

Van Zbinden
2006-0467-F
vz1335

RESTRICTION CODES

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PENN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Tone is too high
Go to putting people first
Be more personal

move to things he was dedicated to/
accomplishments
- "everyday, we..."

more pointed in warning
- if we don't stay in global econ...
- be more specific
(i.e., UN; fighting it fights)
- more starkly human terms
(quote in Wright article)

"Citizens" - flat "pompous"
Reuse Contr
- don't stop...

* We are prepared for the 21st c.
Aulbrose — links Jefferson & Clinton
Foundation for
course you set for tomorrow
we turned ship of state around

FAX COVER

To: Josh Gottheimer

Company :

Fax Number : 2024562505

From : Paul Begala

Company : Paul Begala

Fax Number :

Subject : Attached

Pages including cover page: 5

Date : 1/5/01

Time : 4:20:06 PM

MESSAGE

Josh --

Here's the memo ad the rhetoric I sent the President. I told him I'd really like to be involved in this, so thanks for keeping me in the loop.

See you tomorrow,

Begala

MMW: see Announcement sp.
+ New Covenant

those were his theories
But the inaugural was
his 1st words as P

CLOSE HOLD

Find out how long
the + Reagan sp. were
we Amerz developed a new
way of living as comm.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Other thematic: built bridge
to 21st c.

OR...
one looks larger than others...
- something sharp about rail
(only place where he won't
sandpaper everything down)

and w/ unfinished business
- do more to...
But I know it'll work out...
"nothing wrong w/ Amer..."